# The Outlook

VOLUME 96 SEPTEMBER 17, 1910 NUMBER 3

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE OUTLOOK COMPANY, 287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT, PRESIDENT. WILLIAM B. HOWLAND, TREASURER. KARL V. S. HOWLAND, SECRETARY
REGULAR WEEKLY NUMBERS, FIVE CENTS. MAGAZINE NUMBERS (FOURTH ISSUE OF EACH MONTH), FIFTEEN CENTS. YEARLY SUBSCRIPTIONS — FIFTY-TWO ISSUES — THREE DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER AT THE NEW YORK POST-OFFICE

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**POSTAGE** is prepaid on subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 to the regular subscription price for postage.

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THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

287 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Chicago Office, 150 Michigan Boulevard London Office, 3 Regent Street

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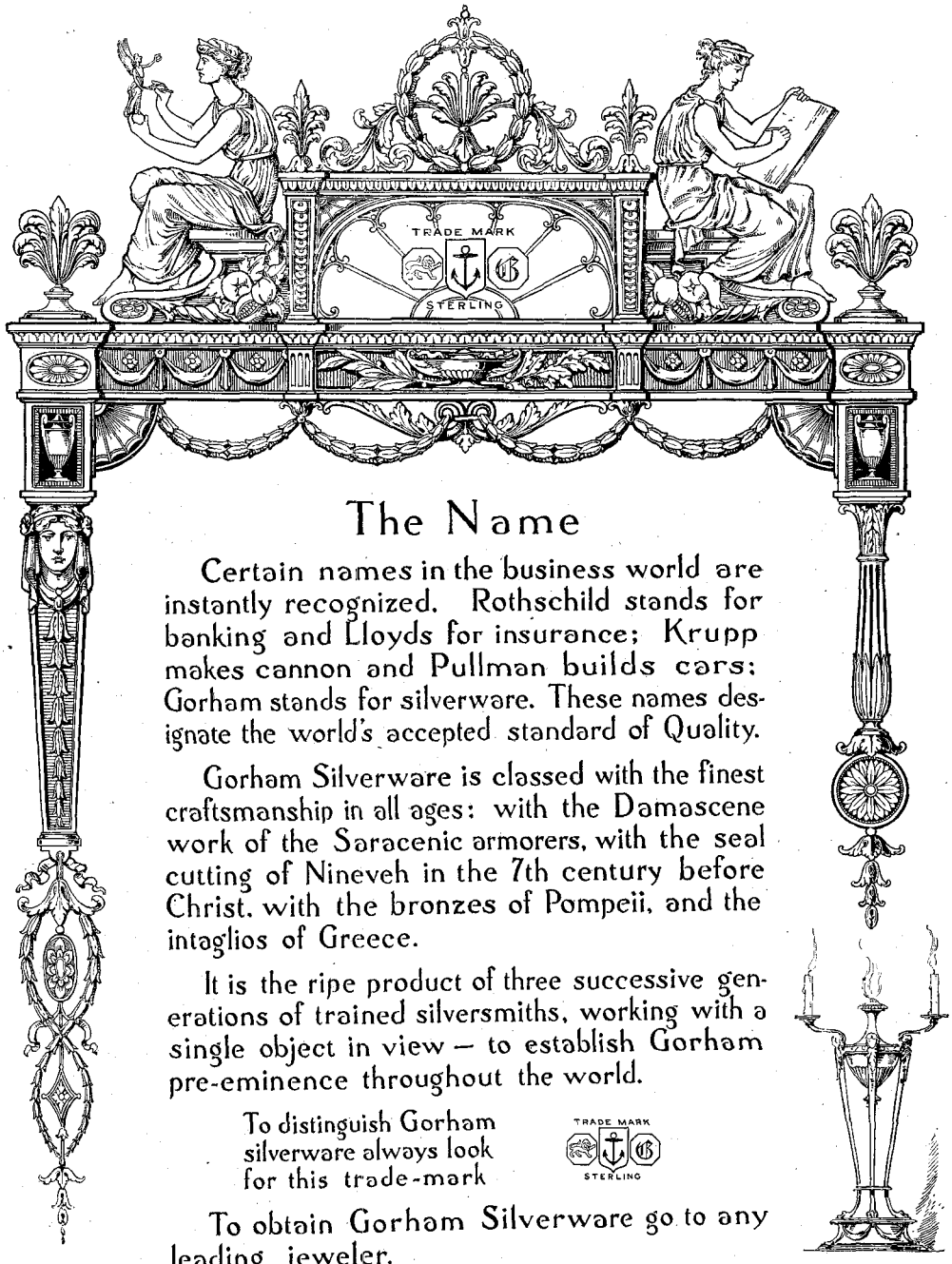


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# The Outlook

SEPTEMBER 17, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

THE LAST WEEK OF MR. ROOSEVELT'S JOURNEY

President Hadley, of Yale, in his "Lectures on Citizenship" declares: "If a man gets money in ways which prove injurious to society instead of beneficial, this furnishes no more reason for giving him social consideration than it does in the case of the burglar or forger who has managed to escape State's prison by a technicality of the law." It was in accordance with this principle that Mr. Roosevelt refused to sit at the same table with Senator Lorimer, of Illinois, at a dinner given by the Hamilton Club of Chicago on Thursday night of last week. Mr. Roosevelt's address at this dinner was as straight a blow as he ever delivered against political corruption, and was received with almost strained intensity. The facts are these: A cartoon appeared in a Chicago newspaper representing Senator Lorimer among others seated at the banquet to Mr. Roosevelt. The picture was amusing because it seemed so preposterous. Later in the day, however, it was learned that the Club's committee had invited Senator Lorimer, and was expecting him to attend. At once Mr. Roosevelt told the committee that if Senator Lorimer should come to the dinner he would not come himself. The committee therefore immediately telegraphed Senator Lorimer: "Colonel Roosevelt declines to sit at dinner with you. Your invitation to dinner is therefore withdrawn." In view of the revelations regarding corruption in the Illinois Legislature in connection with the Senatorial election, and in view of Mr. Roosevelt's denunciation of corruption and lawless violence as the two evils that strike at the foundations of government, this act served as a fulfillment of words that could not be misunderstood. In his speech at the dinner Mr. Roosevelt did not refer in words to this incident, but he said, among other things, as reported in the press despatches: "It is not necessary to convict a man in a court of law to be able to drive him out of public life. . . . Law honesty is not the only thing. . . . If you know a man's corrupt, cinch him. . . . No republic can last if you allow corruption to eat into public life. No republic can last if its citizens tolerate corruption among its representatives. You are face to face with that problem in Illinois now;" and he added, referring directly to the situation in Illinois: "When you have read the confessions of the four men in Illinois, when you have read what the State Attorneys developed about the four men whose indictments they secured, I defy any man not to come to the conclusion that that sort of corruption is a most infamous treason against American institutions." Another incident of Thursday was the reception to Mr. Roosevelt by a throng of perhaps ten thousand labor men and their friends at a great picnic held at Freeport. Last week The Outlook commented on the Conservation speeches of President Taft and Mr. Roosevelt at St. Paul, and further attention is paid to the subject of the Conservation Congress in the following paragraph. At the Fair Grounds in St. Paul it is said that one hundred thousand people greeted Mr. Roosevelt, and he had to take turns in addressing different parts of the audience, moving from corner to corner of the platform. Elsewhere in this issue will be found a second letter from The Outlook's staff correspondent continuing his narrative of incidents and impressions begun in his letter of last week.



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At Milwaukee on Wednesday Mr. Roosevelt spoke on the ethics of journalism at the Press Club, addressed an audience of some thousands of people at the Hippodrome on the fundamental issues and moral bearing of the present situation, visited trade schools and inquired closely into the fine work they are doing, enjoyed immensely a visit to the Deutsches Club, where he made a few remarks laughingly in German and said to the members that while he was in Germany he had told the Kaiser about this Club and that he bore the compliments of the Kaiser to the Club, and did a few other things—the despatches, by the way, state that this day at Milwaukee was one of the lightest and easiest of the trip! The day before, at Fargo, North Dakota, there were, it is reported, from fifteen to twenty thousand people at Island Park to listen to Mr. Roosevelt, who had previously laid the corner-stone for the Fargo College Library. He spoke chiefly of labor matters, and in another paragraph will be found a brief statement of his position. Of Mr. Roosevelt's addresses at Cincinnati, Columbus, and Pittsburgh we shall speak next week.

CONSERVATION: FEDERAL OR STATE?

The discussions at the Conservation Congress, following the addresses by President Taft and Mr. Roosevelt which we commented upon last week, indicate that the issue before the people of the United States is the one which The Outlook has already foreshadowed. There was practically unanimous agreement that under the operation of unlimited competition private enterprise has been wasting the Nation's resources. Such waste is not merely incidental; it is an essential accompaniment of the policy of unregulated private ownership and administration, for the reason clearly stated by Professor John Bates Clark in the September number of the "Atlantic Monthly:" "Exposing any valuable thing to a free-for-all seizure is insuring the surest and speediest destruction of it;" and while it is also true that "private ownership marks an advance on this condition, even from the point of view of public interest," private ownership is regardless of the welfare of future generations. "It demands, 'What do I care for posterity? It has done nothing for me.'" The only question among thinking men is, not whether our National resources shall be turned over to the unregulated control of private capital for development, but whether the regulation shall be furnished by the State or by the Nation. Mr. James J. Hill, whose articles in the "World's Work" have done so much to call public attention to our past wastefulness, urged upon the Congress State control because the National machine "is too big and too distant; its operation is slow, cumbrous, and costly." He believes that the work of irrigation would have been more cheaply done if turned over to private enterprise or committed to the several States, and contends that "it is foolish to talk about leasing coal lands in small quantities in order to prevent monopoly." He does not, however, consider the facts stated by President Taft, showing that past experiences in this country and the experience of other countries demonstrate the practicability of mining coal under a leasing system, which would enable the Government to regulate the methods pursued in mining. On the other hand, in his address Mr. Garfield declared that the Supreme Court has decided that the power of the Federal Government to sell public land carries with it power to grant a lesser title, such as lease or permit, and maintained that the fraudulent occupancy by unscrupulous possessors of timber and coal lands can be prevented only by vigorous Executive action, and he challenged the critics who charge Executive usurpation upon the last Administration to point out a single specific case to justify their criticisms. He insisted that it is not an infringement of the rights of the State for the Nation to keep and provide for the use of its water power sites and other National resources, and that it would be a flagrant violation of duty if the Nation gave away its power to safeguard the public interest in such lands against the aggression of the special interests. He was as emphatic as Mr. Roosevelt in urging that Conservation means, not the hoarding of National resources, but their scientific development under conditions that will yield a fair return to the private enterprise carrying on the work of devel-

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opment, and at the same time prevent monopoly, extortion, and wastefulness. The reasons why The Outlook believes in Federal rather than State control of all National resources are chiefly two: First, the resources belong to the Nation, and there is no adequate reason why it should surrender its ownership or abandon the exercise of its duty of regulating control; second, in many cases—this is specifically true of the water power sites—the conserving of the resources in one State depends upon regulation and control exercised in another State, and therefore adequate State control is, in the nature of the case, impossible. The Congress concluded its deliberations by adopting a platform which stands for a Government representing genuine democracy as opposed to special privilege; for a development of the natural resources of the country "consistent both with current welfare and with the perpetuity of our people;" for Federal control of all water powers and all streams upon which water powers depend, and for the protection of the waters of the country from contamination; for the extension of the irrigation work of the Federal Government, and for the retention in the hands of the Federal or State authorities of the drainage of swamp and overflow land; for the public ownership, preferably Federal, of coal, phosphate, and other mineral lands, to be developed by private capital on the leasehold system; for the maintenance and extension of the National Forest Service; for the protection of migratory birds and wild game animals; for the instruction of school-children in the fundamental doctrines of Conservation; for effective child labor legislation; for co-operative work on the part of the States and the Federal Government to preserve and improve the fertility of the soil by scientific methods; for the establishment of a Federal Department of Public Health; and for the adequate maintenance of a permanent National Conservation Commission. While it is clear that the sentiment of the Congress was in favor of the strengthening of Federal control, the platform quite as specifically urges the development of the Conservation movement within the separate States, and the cordial co-operation of State and Federal authorities in carrying on the Conservation work.

THE BALLINGER INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.

The Ballinger Investigating Committee consists of twelve members; eight were present at the meeting called at Minneapolis on September 7—four Republicans, four Democrats. A recess was suggested to enable other members to reach the meeting and participate in the action. This suggestion was not followed, though it does not appear in the newspaper reports that any vote was taken. A resolution declaring that the charges made by L. R. Glavis and those by Mr. Pinchot against Secretary Ballinger should be sustained was offered by Mr. Madison, of Kansas, an Insurgent Republican. Mr. Madison and the four Democrats constituted a majority of the Committee. Before action on this resolution could be taken, two Republican members of the Committee withdrew, leaving no quorum. The Chairman of the Committee, Senator Nelson, called the attention of the Committee to the fact that no quorum was present, but no member of the Committee raised the point, and Mr. Madison's resolution was adopted—the Chairman of the Committee, Senator Nelson, not voting. A second resolution called for a report to be prepared to be submitted to Congress, such report to be submitted to the Committee on Friday, when, presumably, the three absentee members of the Committee, on their way to Minneapolis, would have arrived. On Friday an attempt was made to hold another meeting of the Committee; nine members, constituting more than a quorum, were known to be in Minneapolis, but three Republican members (Sutherland, McCall, and Denby) refused to attend the meeting. The Chairman, Mr. Nelson, left the committee room, and later sent letters to the members stating that the Committee would meet at Chicago the following Tuesday. The Democratic members, and the Republican member who had voted, as stated, to censure Mr. Ballinger, assert that this action was utterly without authority, as the Committee had adjourned from Wash-

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ing to Minneapolis, and as a quorum was present at Minneapolis, so that adjournment should have been taken only on formal action of the Committee. Four members declared that they felt it their duty to make and file with Congress their findings, and Messrs. Fletcher, Purcell, James, and Graham, all Democrats, joined in a finding which declared that "Richard A. Ballinger has not been true to the trust reposed in him as Secretary of the Interior, that he is not deserving of public confidence, and that he should be requested by the proper authorities to resign his office." Mr. Madison filed a separate report which declares that "Mr. Ballinger should not be retained; that he was an unfaithful trustee of the people's interest, an enemy of conservation," and that the charges of Gifford Pinchot should be sustained.

PRESIDENT TAFT ON LABOR DAY

President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt both spoke on important problems on Labor Day; President Taft before the State Agricultural Society at St. Paul, ex-President Roosevelt before an outdoor meeting at Fargo, North Dakota. The addresses were characteristic of the temperaments of the two men. Mr. Taft's address was largely historical. He showed what the Government is doing for the farmer and the workingman in establishing agricultural experiment stations, and in creating a Bureau of Labor to look after the interests of workingmen, to make it easier for employees who have been injured to recover compensation for their injuries, to compel railways to adopt safety appliances, to limit the daily labor of Government employees to eight hours, and to establish a Bureau of Mines for the special protection of miners. This legislation he characterized as a kind of class legislation which is entirely legitimate, because it is also for the benefit of all classes, and he expressed a hope that we shall secure more such legislation. At the same time he condemned, as objectionable, class legislation which has been proposed excluding farmers or other classes from the operation of statutes against combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, and reaffirmed his objection to the attempt in the last session of Congress to prohibit the use of public money in the prosecution of workingmen for combining in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law; nevertheless he asserted that, in fact, public money never had been used, and probably never would be used, for anything but the prosecution of corporations and business firms engaged in unlawful combinations. His whole speech was in the spirit of the closing paragraph, which The Outlook most heartily indorses: "Farmers and workingmen, you need no special privilege. Do not try to secure it. On the other hand, be watchful to prevent any class in the community from securing it. Let us unite our common energies and work in harmony with the spirit of our Federal Constitution and our democratic ideals; let us all, irrespective of party machine, better the social and economic conditions of all classes of our fellow-men."

MR. ROOSEVELT ON LABOR DAY

Mr. Roosevelt turned his face toward the future. He declared himself in favor of labor unions and collective bargaining; paid tribute to labor leaders, some of whom, he declared, have been his warm friends and wise counselors; affirmed the duty of Government to protect the laborer in his right to reasonable safety and decent conditions in his work, and for better provision than has yet been made for compensation in case of injury, and also for better laws for the protection of women and children against the practical injustice to them and injury to the community through personal greed and private competition; and ended his speech by the following specific indorsement of planks in the platform of the American Federation of Labor. This indorsement may, we suppose, be regarded as indicating Mr. Roosevelt's labor platform in compact form:

First—Free schools, free text-books, and compulsory education.

Second—A work-day of not more than eight hours.

Third—Release from employment one day in seven.

Fourth—The abolition of the sweat-shop system.

Fifth—Sanitary inspection of factory, workshop, mine, and home.

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Sixth—Liability of employers for injury to body or loss of life.

Seventh—The passage and enforcement of rigid anti-child labor laws which will cover every portion of this country. Similar laws limiting women's labor should be enacted.

Eighth—Suitable and plentiful playgrounds for children in all the cities.

The sixth demand in this platform, however, he regarded as inadequate. "What we need," he said, "is an automatically fixed compensation for all injuries received by the employee in the course of his duty."

THE FISHERIES DECISION

Last week the Hague Tribunal handed down its opinion in the Fisheries case between Great Britain and the United States. The result is a victory for Great Britain on two of the most important points and a victory for the United States on the other five. The controversy has revolved about the Anglo-American Treaty of 1818. It declared the right of the United States to "take, dry, and cure" fish on the southern and western coasts of Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador. Under the treaty the United States renounced any claim to take fish within the three-mile limit. But seven questions arose regarding the treaty's application:

First—Must any reasonable regulations made by Great Britain, Canada, and Newfoundland in the form of municipal laws, ordinances, or rules (such regulations being appropriate or necessary for the preservation of the fisheries, desirable on grounds of public order and morals, equitable and fair as between local fishermen and inhabitants of the United States), be subject to the consent of the United States?

Second—Have the inhabitants of the United States, while exercising the liberty to take fish on the treaty coasts, a right to employ as members of their fishing crews persons not inhabitants of the United States?

Third—Can the liberties to take, dry, and cure fish in treaty-designated places be subjected, without the consent of the United States, to the requirements of entry or report at customs houses or the payment of dues, or any similar conditions?

Fourth—Can restrictions be imposed upon American fishermen making the exercise of the privileges granted them by the treaty to enter certain bays or harbors for shelter, repairs, wood, and water conditional upon the payment of light or harbor or other dues on entering or reporting at customs houses, or any similar conditions?

Fifth—What is a bay within the treaty's meaning?

Sixth—Does the treaty give the inhabitants of the United States the same liberty to take fish in the bays, harbors, and creeks in Newfoundland as in Labrador?

Seventh—Are the inhabitants of the United States whose vessels resort to the treaty coasts to exercise the liberties referred to in Article 1 of the treaty entitled to have for those vessels, when duly authorized by the United States in that behalf, the commercial privileges on the treaty coasts accorded by agreement or otherwise to United States trading vessels generally?

The first and fifth questions are decided by the court contrary to the claims of the United States. The award in favor of Great Britain on the first question, involving a seeming cession of sovereignty, is considered by many as the most important of all. The other point decided in favor of Great Britain concerns the headland doctrine, wherein the British contended that the three marine miles within which the United States had agreed not to take fish should be measured from an imaginary line drawn across the mouth of a bay, no matter how wide, from headland to headland; we, on the other hand, contended that the line should follow the coast's sinuosities. It is interesting to note that Dr. Drago, one of the judges, dissented from the majority judgment on this point and upheld our contention. But on the other points the United States has won. Henceforth the British cannot make our fishermen report to customs houses; they cannot impose on these fishermen light, harbor, or other dues; we may employ Newfoundlanders on our fishing vessels, and these vessels have the right to purchase supplies and to enjoy other commercial privileges. Moreover—and this is of high importance to the United States—the award provides that disputed fishing regulations shall be submitted to an impartial commission, composed of one expert from each country and Dr. Paulus Hoek, the Fisheries Adviser to the Dutch Government, and recommends that a similar commission be made permanent. Thus, to sum up, as between Great Britain and the United States, honors seem easy under the award. It was read by Baron Michiels van Verduynen, Secretary of the Permanent

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Court of Arbitration, in the Court Chamber, which is hung with portraits of the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, the late Secretary Hay, and others associated with the cause of the world's peace. The five judges were Dr. Heinrich Lammasch, Professor of International Law at the University of Vienna, President; Judge George Gray, of Delaware; the Right Hon. Charles Fitzpatrick, Chief Justice of Canada; Dr. Luis Maria Drago, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Argentinian Government; and Dr. A. F. Savarin-Lohman, the eminent Dutch authority on international law. The principal pleader for the United States was Senator Root. His six-day speech is regarded by many as the greatest presentation of a case yet made at The Hague.

THE EFFECTS OF THE DECISION

The moral effects of the Fisheries Decision will, we believe, be more important and far-reaching than those which are political and commercial. First, and above all, it is another long step towards the practical establishment of an International Supreme Court whose recognized authority shall protect the interests of and keep the peace between the civilized nations of the world, as the Supreme Court of the United States settles all controverted questions between the separate States. Not many years ago the idea of an International Supreme Court was regarded by many intelligent men as little more than a beautiful but wholly unrealizable dream. Among other objections it was urged that the judges of such a court would never vote against their own countries; and that, as no first-class Power would submit an important claim to a court in which it had no representative, it would be impossible ever to obtain impartial judgments. In the Alaskan boundary case (which, to be sure, was not tried before the Hague Court, but before a special Commission), Lord Alverstone, the Lord Chief Justice of England, rendered his decision against his own country and in favor of the United States. This highly honorable judicial attitude has been repeated again in the fisheries case at The Hague. Judge Gray, representing the United States, voted against the United States and in favor of Great Britain on the two questions in which Great Britain's interests were most concerned; and Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, who represented Great Britain, voted adversely to the claims of his own country in five of the questions at issue. There could hardly be a better demonstration of the actual possibility of obtaining judicial impartiality in an International Supreme Court. Moreover, the questions at issue are not technical, but distinctly practical; they have been a source of serious friction and irritation between the United States and Canada for nearly a century, and in them were involved some important commercial considerations. But no one for a moment supposes that the decision at the Hague Tribunal will not meet with complete acquiescence by both the people and the governments of the countries concerned. To the layman the equity of the decision, in spite of the masterly presentation of legal points by Senator Root, seems unquestionable. The bays, harbors, and creeks of Newfoundland and Canada belong to those countries just as naturally as Massachusetts Bay and Chesapeake Bay belong to the United States. It also seems the natural and just thing that Newfoundland and Canada should make the regulations of their fisheries without consulting any other Government. Incidentally the decision indicates how amusingly difficult it is to erect a hole-proof tariff wall. The Gloucester fishermen may now go to the Banks, hire Newfoundland fishermen to help them, and even buy fish caught within the three-mile limit, and bring their catch and purchases back to Gloucester duty free.

EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENTS

Last week's Executive appointments have called forth widespread expressions of satisfaction, irrespective of party. The first announcement was that of the appointment of the new Stock and Bond Commission, which is to investigate the question of bringing future issues of railway securities under the supervision and control of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. As had been expected, President Hadley, of Yale, is named as

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Chairman of the Commission. The other members are Messrs. Frederick N. Judson, of St. Louis; Frederick Strauss, of New York City; Walter L. Fisher, of Chicago; and Professor B. H. Meyer, of Madison, Wisconsin. The Commission thus includes two lawyers, two college professors, and a banker. The Commission represents both conservative and progressive thought. President Hadley's reputation as an economist is too well known to need further definition. Mr. Judson is also a Yale man. He is the author of several books on law, taxation, and inter-State commerce. With Governor Harmon he was a special attorney for the Federal Government some years ago in the railway rebate investigation. Mr. Strauss is also known as an economist. He is a member of a prominent banking firm of New York City. Mr. Fisher was attorney for the city of Chicago in the settlement of the traction dispute, and is believed to be the author of the plan whereby the city and the street railways divided the profits of the traction enterprises. Mr. Fisher is also the Vice-President of the National Conservation Commission, of which President Eliot, of Harvard, was the first President and Mr. Gifford Pinchot the present President. Dr. Meyer occupies the chair of Political Economy at the University of Wisconsin. He has been Chairman of the Wisconsin Railway Commission, an expert special agent of the United States Census Bureau, and in charge for the Inter-State Commerce Commission of the physical valuation of railways. President Taft is fortunate in the personnel of the new Commission; it is one to inspire public confidence. The Outlook's position on the question of the control of railway securities by the Inter-State Commerce Commission is in line with that recommended by President Taft. Certainly a plan should be devised by which innocent investors may be prevented from being shorn of their money by the issuance of fictitious securities. Reliable securities are affected unfavorably, of course, by the unreliability of others, and hence, as in the movement towards checking rebates, the principal source of influence looking towards reform has come from the best railway men themselves, to whose interest it is of primary importance that their methods, whether of financing or of operation, shall be above suspicion.

THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF MINES

Much satisfaction has been found in the appointment of Dr. Joseph Austin Holmes as Director of the new Bureau of Mines. Dr. Holmes has been an eminent officer of the Geological Survey. A South Carolinian by birth, he was graduated at Cornell University in 1881. During his college course he devoted special attention to chemistry, particularly to the chemistry of explosives and of metallurgy. He afterwards visited the mining regions of our own country, Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium, studying methods of mining with reference to lessening loss of life and waste of resources. During his ten years as Professor of Geology in the University of North Carolina, and later as State Geologist of North Carolina, he gave much attention to investigating quarrying, metal mining, and metallurgical operations, so that his appointment to the headship of the Department of Mines and Metallurgy at the St. Louis Fair was a logical one. Some years ago, when the Government fuel investigations were authorized by Congress, Dr. Holmes, who had planned this work, was naturally offered its supervision. The examination of the coal-fields by this expert in the determination of their fuel value enabled coal operators to discriminate more accurately than had before been possible in making contracts, and the advantage was shown of basing the price of fuel more nearly on the number of heating units it contains. Thus Dr. Holmes's services aided producers and consumers alike. The fuel investigations as enlarged included investigations of mine explosions. These were developed to such an extent that they now constitute the main work of the newly created Bureau of Mines. Three years ago, on Dr. Holmes's recommendation, President Roosevelt secured the appointment by the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, and Belgium of one distinguished engineer from each country to come to the United States. Accompanied by these engineers, Dr. Holmes visited our

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more important coal-fields to determine the extent to which modern safety practices of other mining countries might be introduced into the United States. During his period of office Dr. Holmes inaugurated the movement for free entry into the United States of mine safety and rescue appliances, and also the recent movement for mine rescue work by private mine operators, by States, and by the Federal Government. He planned the establishment of the three State mine rescue stations in Illinois and the twelve Government mine rescue stations, one in each of the larger mining States of the country. In connection with this work Dr. Holmes won the entire confidence of mine-owners and miners throughout the country. This was shown by the fact that his appointment as Director of the Bureau of Mines was advocated by each of the seven recent Presidents of the American Institute of Mining Engineers and by representatives of the principal mining interests, whether of capital or labor, and by nearly all the mining journals. We might add that sixty-two out of the seventy-two Senators in Washington at the time signed a request to the President favoring Dr. Holmes's appointment.

NEW ENGLAND REPUBLICANISM

Even in an "off" year the Republican plurality in Vermont rarely falls below twenty thousand. But last week's elections for Governor, Legislature, and two Republican Congressmen reduced the plurality to about 17,900. Though Congressmen David J. Foster and Frank Plumley were re-elected, and though the Legislature insures the re-election of United States Senator Carroll S. Page, thus leaving the Congressional delegation unchanged both personally and politically, Dr. John A. Mead, the present Lieutenant-Governor, was elected Governor by a reduced majority. It is true that rain fell throughout the State, reducing the total vote to a lower point than that attained in a quarter of a century, but in larger places in the State, where unfavorable weather would naturally have no appreciable effect, there was a Republican decline. The causes for it are two, State and National; the first being due to dissatisfaction both with the Republican machine and with the head of the ticket, and the second to dissatisfaction with the high cost of living and the connection therewith of the tariff. On the same day in the neighboring State of New Hampshire the Republican machine went "on the rocks." By a vote of very nearly two to one, the Regular candidate for the nomination of Governor, Colonel Bertram Ellis, though backed by the powerful railway organization, which has hitherto controlled politics in New Hampshire, was defeated by State Senator Robert Perkins Bass, who had already established his reputation as an energetic Progressive. The issues on which Mr. Bass is nominated were, in general, the drafting and administering of laws to insure an equal opportunity to every man in particular a more equitable taxation between the property of corporations and that of individuals. Mr. Bass's victory completes the upheaval begun by Mr. Winston Churchill several years ago, the first fruits of which were the cutting of the majority of the Republican candidate for the Governorship to 3,200 in a year that saw President Taft carry the State by nearly 20,000. Mr. Bass has had the advantage of the backing of Mr. Churchill, and also that of ex-Senator Chandler. The efforts of these men will now be to unite the Republican party in New Hampshire in support of distinctly Progressive principles and measures, so that at the State Convention, to be held about September 20, the platform may be as expressive of progress as have been those of Kansas and California, States in which the Progressive candidate for the Governorship has won at the primaries. In the Congressional nominations the two New Hampshire Congressmen were successful in being returned: Mr. Sulloway, long a picturesque figure in Congress, and a Regular, though not of the "hidebound" variety, was able to win against his Insurgent opponent; Mr. Currier, New Hampshire's other Congressman, and one of the ablest parliamentarians at Washington, was renominated without opposition to succeed himself—a deserved compliment. The nominations of Mr. Sulloway and Mr. Currier, however, hardly detract from the value to New Hampshire of the Progress-

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ive victory. Mr. Churchill's campaign some years ago made it clear that if a direct expression of the New Hampshire people could be obtained, they would not hesitate to repudiate the corporation bossism which has too long disgraced their State.

PRIMARIES IN MANY STATES

In the Connecticut Republican primaries for the gubernatorial nomination former Lieutenant-Governor Everett J. Lake won against Charles A. Goodwin, Secretary to Governor Weeks. In the Democratic primaries Judge Simeon Eben Baldwin, of New Haven, late Chief Justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court, was nominated. By this act the Democrats have lifted the State campaign to a high level. Judge Baldwin, a jurist of international repute, is a Democrat of the old school. Michigan and Wisconsin also held primaries last week. Those in Michigan were made impressive by the defeat of Senator Burrows by Congressman Townsend. Of all Regulars Mr. Burrows is probably the most regular. Mr. Townsend is well known as the joint author with Congressman Esch, of Wisconsin, of the Railway Bill submitted to Congress during President Roosevelt's term. Mr. Chase S. Osborn, a Progressive candidate, was nominated for Governor. In Wisconsin the significant event was the renomination of Senator La Follette by an easy victory over the Regular candidate. The vote was heavier than anticipated because of the contest among the Democrats to get out a twenty per cent vote in order to insure a place on the final ballot. The Congressional representation from Wisconsin is likely to be more Progressive than ever. Congressmen Cooper, Cary, Davidson, Küstermann, Kopp, and Lenroot have apparently won the contest for their renominations. There was no contest on the renomination of Mr. Esch, and this, as in the case of Congressman Currier, was a deserved compliment. The Wisconsin Progressives have added to their strength by the nomination of Henry C. Cochems, the football player, who defeated Congressman Stafford, heretofore the one "stand-patter" in the Wisconsin delegation. While the outside world may look to the result of the fight on Senator La Follette and the Congressmen, the State interest was largely concerned with the liquor question. The result of the primaries is that public opinion in Wisconsin has defeated county option, at least for the time. The county optionist candidate for Governor, Mr. Lewis, was outdistanced in the race by two candidates, both of whom are opposed to county option—namely, Mr. Fairchild, the Regular candidate, and Mr. McGovern, Senator La Follette's candidate. Mr. McGovern won fame as the anti-graft District Attorney of Milwaukee, and has now won in the race for the Governorship. Two States farther West contributed to electoral interest last week. In California the first Republican Convention held under the primary law met, and was controlled by the Progressives with an overwhelming majority. In New Mexico the Republicans elected about two-thirds of the one hundred delegates to the State Constitutional Convention which is to meet at Santa Fé on October 3. The main issue is the initiative and referendum plank in the New Mexico Constitution, the Democrats desiring the inclusion of the Oregon plan and the Republicans favoring a modified plan.

THE NEWARK LYNCHING

The report of the Licking County Grand Jury upon the lynching at Newark, Ohio, last July, is an impressive indictment. Newark is a town of about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. It is about thirty miles from Columbus, the capital of the State. Newark's industries are principally locomotive and boiler shops. These would certainly be supposed to contribute to the natural thirst of those working in them, but, despite this, Newark was rated as a "dry" town. As is almost invariably the case, however, the town harbored a number of "speak-easies." When the raid was made on the "speak-easies," the lynching of Carl N. Etherington, an Anti-Saloon League detective, was planned. It took place with surprising deliberateness. A mob took him by force from the jail where he had been held for safe-keeping and hanged him in the Court-House Square

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from an improvised scaffold. The identity of those most active in his lynching was known. Not a member of the mob wore a mask. The defiance of law was made the easier because the Mayor was weak and because the sheriff and chief of police were hand in glove with the malefactors. When the mob was preparing to lynch the detective, the Mayor skulked away; when the mob was battering down the jail door to get at Etherington, the sheriff left the jail; and when the victim was being hanged, the chief of police was playing cards in a neighboring saloon. The Grand Jury has not only found these facts, it has indicted twenty-five persons for murder in the first degree, twenty-one for rioting, ten for assault, and ten for perjury. Its action is exactly in line with the characteristically prompt and energetic action of Governor Harmon, who immediately suspended the Mayor and sheriff, despatched troops to Newark, and spoke his mind vigorously about its many cowardly citizens. And yet in the entire citizen body there is a law-abiding element which has now been thoroughly aroused towards redeeming the town's reputation. As Judge Seward said in issuing a *venire* for the Grand Jury: "Lawbreakers have openly defied the courts here for years. The city and county officers have openly connived at violations of the law, and finally it has taken bloodshed to awaken the law-abiding element to a realization of the deplorable situation."

**WILL MR. GAYNOR REMAIN MAYOR?**

The nomination of Mayor Gaynor by the Democratic party as Governor of New York State is urged by members of that party. The movement is apparently spontaneous. If Mr. Gaynor were nominated, he would be a hard candidate to beat, even were the Republican party united; in its present divided condition Mayor Gaynor's election would be almost assured, unless he were handicapped by the platform adopted or by the other candidates nominated. It is possible also that his election as Governor might prove a stepping-stone to his nomination by the Democratic party as President in 1912. Nevertheless, The Outlook hopes that, if the nomination is tendered to him, he will decline it. He is now Mayor of much the most important city in the United States, and the second largest city in the world. Next to Conservation in importance to democracy is the problem of municipal government. Something over a quarter of our citizens live in cities of considerable magnitude. If these cities cannot be administered on democratic principles, democracy is a failure in the Nation, for it is not conceivable that one-quarter of the people in the United States should be governed on anti-democratic principles and democracy remain successful with the other three-quarters. New York has not adopted government by commission, but the powers which are intrusted to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment are analogous to the powers intrusted by other municipalities to a commission. Mayor Gaynor's associates in the municipal government are, many of them, not of his party, but they are nearly all of them committed as strongly as he is to honest democratic administration. Some changes in the Charter are doubtless necessary to secure this result, but even a Republican Legislature, unless it were dominated by the "Old Guard," which does not now seem probable, would hardly refuse to a non-partisan municipal administration, backed by a general demand, the changes which are necessary. If Mayor Gaynor, under these circumstances, can work out a solution, or even accomplish reforms which promise a solution, of the municipal problem of democracy, he will have accomplished more for his country than there is any reason to think that he could accomplish as Governor of the State. We also believe that his refusal to abandon his present work in order to accept an office popularly thought to be more important would appeal to the sentiment of the American people, and would do more to give him a National reputation than his election to and successful administration of the Governorship. But this consideration is in our judgment, and from what we know of Mayor Gaynor we believe would be in his judgment, of minor importance. He is the greatest man who renders the greatest service; and the opportunity for service of the Mayor of New York City is, under present conditions, greater than the opportunity of the Governor of the State.

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THE POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY

In point of population New York has long been known to be the second city of the world, but the official figures made public last week by the Hon. E. Dana Durand, Director of the Census, show that its title to that distinction is even greater than has been generally supposed. The first city in the world in point of population is London; it is believed now to have no less than 7,500,000 inhabitants. New York's population, according to Mr. Durand, is 4,766,883. The third city is Paris, with 2,700,000 (census of 1901—probably about 3,000,000 now); the fourth and fifth are Tokyo and Berlin, the population of each exceeding two million (censuses of 1908 and 1906 respectively). The sixth, seventh, and eighth cities are Chicago (1909), St. Petersburg (1905), and Vienna (1901), each having about 1,700,000 inhabitants. The ninth and tenth are supposed to be Canton and Peking, each with an estimated population of 1,600,000. The eleventh and twelfth are Philadelphia (1910) with over 1,500,000, and Moscow (1907) with over 1,300,000. Other cities whose population exceeds a million are Constantinople, Osaka, Calcutta, Buenos Aires, and Shanghai. The population of many of the above cities, Berlin especially, is likely to be somewhat changed in the near future by the annexation of suburbs. The rate of increase in New York during the past ten years is higher than that for any of the other large cities of the United States the population of which has already been announced, with the exception of Detroit, Newark, Kansas City, Columbus, and Atlanta. Politically, too, the population of New York City becomes interesting, for, on the basis of the present representation in the House of Representatives, namely, 194,182, New York City as at present constituted will be entitled to no less than twenty-four Representatives. The fact that New York City more than doubled in population during the decade from 1890 to 1900 was due to the Act of Consolidation which became effective in 1898, and added to what is now the Borough of Manhattan and the greater part of what is now the Borough of the Bronx, Kings County, Richmond County, the larger part of Queens County, and a small part of Westchester County. If New York could be further expanded so as to include its natural suburbs in New Jersey, its population to-day would, it is believed, considerably exceed six million.

THE OUTCOME OF THE CLOAKMAKERS' STRIKE

The strike of the cloakmakers in New York City, a struggle involving over 70,000 workers and from 1,300 to 1,400 shops, the greatest strike in the history of the garment-making industry in this country, has finally been settled after nine weeks of bitter struggle, of great loss to both sides, and of intense suffering on the part of the workers. Both the union and the manufacturers claim the victory, but after comparing the demands of the cloakmakers with the concessions they finally gained, the result appears to be largely a triumph for the workers. In The Outlook for July 23 our readers were made acquainted with the grievances of the workers. That these grievances did exist and that most of the demands of the union were just was made clear in the course of the conference between the representatives of the employers and of the workers under the chairmanship of Mr. Louis Brandeis, the proceedings of which were reported in The Outlook two or three weeks ago. Before that conference had closed the employers had yielded to almost all the demands of the workers. The conference came to an unfruitful end only because the two sides could not agree as to the conditions which should be adopted in relation to the recognition of the union. The workers, after so many years of being entirely at the mercy of the employers, after vainly waiting so many years for some voluntary betterment of their condition by the shop-owners, felt that the recognition of the union was the basic principle of their struggle, and was their only guarantee that the employers would live up to any agreement they might make. The strikers at first had insisted upon the adoption of the closed shop principle, but before entering upon the conference they had agreed that the adoption of that principle should not be discussed at the conference. In the course of the conference Mr. Brandeis had suggested that what may be

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called the "preferential union" shop be adopted, which means a shop in which the employers recognize the desirability of the union, maintain union conditions, and in hiring workers give preference to union men over non-union men. At that time this suggestion did not meet the approval of the strikers, who had, however, modified their demand for the closed shop into one for what they called the "union" shop—that is, a shop in which the employers are allowed to engage non-union men when there is not a sufficient supply of union labor at hand. The final agreement was made upon a plan which was very nearly that of Mr. Brandeis's preferential shop, although it apparently differed slightly from his suggestion as originally made. The length and bitterness of the strike were due very largely to the disorganization that existed on both sides. The strike leaders were compelled to deal with hundreds of different representatives; the sweat-shops and the sub-contracting system produced a great number of little groups of workmen, and it was most difficult to get these innumerable groups to agree to a basis of settlement between the union and the employers.

THE METHODS AND TERMS OF SETTLEMENT

Credit must be given to the counsel for the union and the chairman of the strike settlement committee for the admirable method finally adopted to secure an agreement. After a proposal was drawn up by the strike settlement committee (composed of the counsel for the union, the counsel for the employers' association, and a non-partisan third person), no public announcement of the agreement was made until the union had adopted and put into practice a system which they term "the House of Representatives." In compliance with this system the shop foremen explained this tentative agreement in all the shops and secured from the rank and file a vote as to what demands they would insist upon and what ones they would yield. The result of this canvass in the shops was put before the strike settlement committee, and the agreement was revised to meet the wishes of the workers as expressed through their representatives, the shop foremen. This final agreement met with the entire approval of both sides. According to this treaty of peace, or "protocol" as it is officially styled, it is agreed that the employers are to install electric power by December 31, 1910; no charge shall be made against any employee by the manufacturers for materials except in the event of negligence of employee resulting in loss to the employer; no work shall be given to the employees to perform at their homes; the sweat-shops and sub-contracting within shops shall be entirely abolished; employees shall not be required to work during the ten legal holidays established by the laws of the State of New York; all week workers shall be paid for legal holidays; a weekly pay-day must be established and wages must be paid in cash. All wages of week workers are to be raised from twenty-five per cent to thirty per cent, and the prices of piece-work are to be agreed upon by a committee of the employees in each shop and their employer. A week's work shall consist of fifty hours; no overtime shall be permitted between the 15th of November and the 15th of January and during the months of June and July, except upon samples; and this overtime shall not exceed two and one-half hours per day, and for overtime the workers shall receive double the usual pay. Each member of the manufacturers' association is to maintain a union shop, "union shop" being understood to refer to a shop where union standards as to wages, working conditions, and hours of labor prevail, and where, when hiring help, union men are preferred—it being recognized that, since there are differences in degrees of skill, employers shall have the freedom of selection as between one union man and another. There was also established a joint board of sanitary control, in which the union and the employers are equally represented; a board of arbitration, to consist of three members composed of one nominee of the manufacturers and one of the union and a representative of the public, to which board all differences arising between employers and employees shall be submitted; and it is agreed that, in an event of a dispute between manufacturers and the union, there shall be no strike or lockout until full opportunity

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shall have been given for the submission of the controversy to said board of arbitration. Furthermore, a committee of grievances was established, consisting of four members, two each from the union and the employers' association. Both employers and employees are trying very hard to overcome the bitterness which this struggle has naturally evoked on both sides. The manufacturers have announced that they are prepared to work hand in hand with their men. It is much to be regretted that a settlement could not have been agreed to sooner, and thus have saved the great suffering which the workman and his family at their best are so ill prepared to withstand.

HOLMAN HUNT

Holman Hunt is dead. He lived to the age of eighty-three, far beyond that of his fellow-workers Rossetti and Millais. Hunt's father was a London warehouseman, and the boy was born in Cheapside, in the heart of the city. Instead of following in his father's footsteps, the son spent most of his time in drawing, and so clever was he at this that, though he was compelled to become clerk to a calico-printer, he drew such lifelike flies upon the ground-glass window of the counting-room that his employer tried to brush them away. The boy eked out a living by painting portraits in his spare hours, and finally persuaded his people to let him enter the Academy schools. Here he had the good fortune to meet John Everett Millais and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. One day he and Millais were looking over a book of engravings of the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa. In his delightful volumes on "Pre-Raphaelitism" Mr. Hunt has told us that "the innocent spirit which directed the invention of the painter [Benozzo Gozzoli] was traced, point after point, with emulation by each of us, with the determination that a kindred simplicity should regulate our own ambition." Thus was born Pre-Raphaelitism—not Pre-Raphaelism, for Raphael was independent of traditions, rules, and conventions. His imitators, however, the Raphaelites, and the other painters of their age and of succeeding ages, were generally more or less hide-bound by tradition, and their works were often travesties of tradition. In the young Englishmen a deep respect was awakened for the "primitives"—the artists who had preceded Raphael—because these artists had developed their own individualities as succeeding painters had not. In appreciation and aim, Hunt, Millais, and Rossetti already represented a pre-Raphaelite union. With others they now formed the "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," as a protest against the prevailing meretriciousness in art. Despite certain crude notions as to drawing, color, tone, evident in the canvases of the young Englishmen, the Brotherhood made its mark in art history. Their first pictures (1849) puzzled the public, for they bore the mystic initials "P. R. B." However deficient in technique these works may be, they are historic as defining a turning-point in modern art towards greater individual imagination. They immediately aroused comment, John Ruskin declaring that there had been "nothing so earnest or so complete since the days of Albrecht Dürer." Now followed the individual development of each of the young artists. From his profound spirituality and his conviction that his life's mission was to expound Scripture, Hunt's development was in the direction of works having a marked religious and didactic quality. Many of them were painted in Palestine. They are highly symbolic. Undoubtedly the most popular is the often overpraised "The Light of the World;" it hangs in Keble College, Oxford. The black and white reproductions are more satisfactory than the original. This is because its color, though in bits, as often in Hunt's canvases, superlatively good, lacks both breadth and harmony in general effect. Holman Hunt's pictures evince not only their creator's deeply religious consecration, but also the result of prodigious labor and toil. In his doctrinaire conscientiousness, however, Hunt often reproduced a mere union of details instead of the large vision of a completed whole; hence some of his works are as harsh in detail as they are hard in color. But if the poetry of painting be absent, there is generally present some evidence of a thinker who painted and a seer who led the way in freeing modern art from mere imitativeness.

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# THE TARIFF: A MORAL ISSUE[1]

Whenever men just like ourselves—probably not much better, and certainly no worse—continually fail to give us the results we have a right to expect from their efforts, we may just as well make up our minds that the fault lies, not in their personality, but in the conditions under which they work; and profit comes, not from denouncing them, but in seeing that the conditions are changed. This is especially true of tariff-making. It has been conclusively shown, by experiments repeated again and again, that the methods of tariff-making by Congress, which have now obtained for so many years, cannot, from the very nature of the case, bring really satisfactory results. I think that the present tariff is better than the last, and considerably better than the one before the last; but it has certainly failed to give general satisfaction. I believe this country is fully committed to the principle of protection; but it is to protection as a principle; to protection primarily in the interest of the standard of living of the American workingman. I believe that when protection becomes, not a principle, but a privilege and a preference—or, rather, a jumble of privileges and preferences—then the American people disapprove of it. Now, to correct the trouble, it is necessary, in the first place, to get in mind clearly what we want, and, in the next place, to get in mind clearly the method by which we hope to obtain what we want. What we want is a square deal in the tariff as in everything else; a square deal for the wage-earner; a square deal for the employer; and a square deal for the general public. To obtain it we must have a thoroughly efficient and well-equipped tariff commission.

The tariff ought to be a material issue and not a moral issue; but if instead of a square deal we get a crooked deal, then it becomes very emphatically a moral issue. What we desire in a tariff is such measure of protection as will equalize the cost of production here and abroad; and as the cost of production is mainly labor cost, this means primarily a tariff sufficient to make up for the difference in labor cost here and abroad. The American public wants the American laboring man put on an equality with other citizens, so that he shall have the ability to achieve the American standard of living and the capacity to enjoy it; and to do this we must see that his wages are not lowered by improper competition with inferior wage-workers abroad—with wage-workers who are paid poorly and who live as no Americans are willing to live. But the American public does not wish to see the tariff so arranged as to benefit primarily a few wealthy men.

As a means toward the attainment of its end in view we have as yet devised nothing in any way as effective as a tariff commission. There should be a commission of well-paid experts; men who should not represent any industry; who should be masters of their subjects; of the very highest character; and who should approach the matter with absolute disregard of every outside consideration. These men should take up in succession each subject with which the tariff deals and investigate the conditions of production here and abroad; they should find out the facts and not merely accept the statements of interested parties; and they should report to Congress on each subject as soon as that subject has been covered. Then action can be taken at once on the particular subject concerned, while the commission immediately proceeds to investigate another. By these means log-rolling would be avoided and each subject treated on its merits, while there would be no such shock to general industry as is implied in the present custom of making sweeping changes in the whole tariff at once. Finally, it should be the duty of some Governmental department or bureau to investigate the conditions in the various protected industries, and see that the laborers really are getting the benefit of the tariff supposed to be enacted in their interest. Moreover, to insure good treatment abroad we should keep the maximum and minimum provision.

The same principle of a first-class outside commission should be applied to river and harbor legislation. At present a river and harbor bill, like a tariff bill, tends to be settled by a squabble among a lot of

[1] This article is in substance what Mr. Roosevelt said on the question of the Tariff in his speech at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, on September 3.—THE EDITORS.

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big selfish interests and little selfish interests, with scant regard to the one really vital interest, that of the general public. In this matter the National Legislature would do well to profit by the example of Massachusetts. Formerly Massachusetts dealt with its land and harbor legislation just as at Washington tariff and river and harbor laws have been dealt with; and there was just the same pulling and hauling, the same bargaining and log-rolling, the same subordination of the general interest to various special interests. Last year Governor Draper took up the matter, and on his recommendation the Legislature turned the whole business over to a commission of experts; and all trouble and scandal forthwith disappeared. Incidentally, this seems to me to be a first-class instance of progressive legislation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

## A CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION

In this and the last issue of The Outlook a staff correspondent has given our readers a graphic picture of the reception accorded to Mr. Roosevelt in his Western tour. The people have greeted him, not as a party representative, but as a personal friend; and he has spoken to them, not in partisan terms, but in those of a National leader. There is nothing in this campaign of education to suggest that it has been in their minds, or in his, a preparation for a Presidential campaign in 1912. We do not wonder that some critics have so represented it; because we have long ceased to wonder at the appearance of the small-minded man who cannot conceive that a public service is ever rendered without hope of a personal reward. Such men are to be pitied, not blamed. They are dull, not corrupt. They have never felt a throb of personal patriotism themselves and therefore cannot recognize it in another. That a man may volunteer to render service to the State in time of peace as well as in time of war is beyond their intellectual power to conceive.

Mr. Roosevelt has once and only once in his distinguished career asked for office. He raised a regiment of Rough Riders for the Spanish War, and was offered the command by President McKinley. He declined because, he said, he lacked the necessary military experience for a military command, but asked that his friend Leonard Wood be made Commander of the regiment and that he be permitted to serve under Colonel Wood as Lieutenant-Colonel. With that exception, every office he has ever held has come to him unsought, from his nomination as Assemblyman in 1882, because it was thought his personality would make him an effective leader in a local movement for political reform, to his nomination as Vice-President in 1900, because Western men thought his name on the ticket important in order to secure the success of the Republican party in a campaign for a full-valued dollar. In 1904, while he frankly expressed his hope that his administration of the unexpired term of Mr. McKinley would be indorsed by a nomination and election to the Presidency, the nomination was practically a spontaneous one, no other candidate being considered by his party. In 1908, that he not only refused a nomination for the Presidency, but organized a genuine campaign to prevent its being tendered to him, is a matter of public history.

Landing in New York last June, Mr. Roosevelt, in his first brief speech at the Battery, rededicated himself as a private citizen to the service of the Nation. Out of over two thousand invitations to speak, from a public eager to hear him, he selected a score in different parts of the country for acceptance. He is an enthusiastic believer in what have been called the "Roosevelt Policies," but what he has himself called the "New Nationalism;" and he has a passionate hatred of mob violence and of political and commercial corruption. As long as he has a voice with which to speak, and a pen with which to write, he will be an apostle of the New Nationalism and a preacher of civic righteousness. He has asked no reward in the past; he will ask none in the future. But neither mendacious attacks upon him by enemies nor misconstruction and misapprehension by friends will prevent him from accepting invitations to give his message.

We are writing in Mr. Roosevelt's absence, and without his knowledge, but

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we speak with authority—the authority of a long and intimate acquaintance, and what we believe to be a complete understanding of the spirit and motive which actuate him in all his public work and utterances.

## DEMOCRACY ON TRIAL

The New York papers publish a formal statement by Mr. Barnes, of Albany, from which we clip the following paragraph:

> The recent attack upon the Supreme Court of the United States by a keen-witted and aspiring citizen could not have been made without a purpose well thought out. It was an appeal to passion. If this appeal against judicial decisions is popular and is not rebuked, there is no reason whatsoever, if a direct primary law should be enacted in this State, that candidates for judicial offices, compelled to run the gauntlet of a district or State-wide primary, would not, in order to appeal to the temporary sentiments of the moment, declare in advance their attitude upon matters which would come before them for judicial review. Instead of men of long legal experience and judicial training, there would be candidates for the bench from lawyers who would not hesitate to make that kind of appeal to the people which would be a disgrace to their profession.

This paragraph puts in concrete form the real issue joined between the Reactionaries and the Progressives. The Progressives believe in popular government; the Reactionaries do not. The Progressives believe that the people are competent to select their own officials; the Reactionaries do not. The Progressives believe that the functionaries so selected, from village constable to Supreme Court judge, are servants of the people, interpreters and executants of the people's will, and therefore responsible to the frank criticism of the people who have selected them; the Reactionaries believe that they are, and should be, superior to criticism. Sir Henry Maine, quoting John Stuart Mill and Sir James Stephen, declares that the essential difference between a monarchical and a democratic government is this: in a monarchical government the "rulers are presumably wise and good, the rightful rulers and guides of the whole population;" in a democratic government "the ruler is the agent and servant, and the subject the wise and good master, who is obliged to delegate his power to the so-called ruler because, being a multitude, he cannot use it himself." Therefore, in a monarchy it is unseemly for the people to criticise the rulers, who are their superiors; while in a democratic government the officials who carry on the government are always subject to the criticism of those whom they serve. Measured by this test, the government which Governor Hughes and the Progressives are fighting for is a democracy; the government which Mr. Barnes and the Reactionaries are fighting for is an oligarchy.

There are a great many people in this country who do not believe in popular government. They may believe in government *for* the people; but they do not believe in government *by* the people. They believe in the "remnant." They believe that political wisdom is in the few, and the few should rule. They believe that railway experts can manage a railway better than the public can; therefore they do not believe in regulation of the railways by the Government. They believe that the men of individual enterprise can develop the country better if they are not interfered with; therefore they do not believe in Conservation. They believe that capitalistic managers should have absolute control of the great organized industries, that the workers should take the work, the wages, and the conditions assigned to them; therefore they do not believe in trade unions. They believe that a few men—shall we say self-appointed, or shall we say the result of natural selection?—can choose the functionaries for the people better than the people can select their functionaries for themselves; therefore they select the candidate, though they reluctantly allow the people in the election which follows to exercise a veto power over the selection. They believe that a small and select body can legislate for the people better than can the elected representatives of the people; therefore they give to such a small and select body the power to determine what matters may come before the representatives of the people to be considered and what the action of the party shall be on such measures when they are permitted to be presented to the legislative body for its action.

There is much to be said for the appointment of judges of our courts as the

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Federal judges are appointed. But the Federal judges are appointed by the President, in the open. The country knows who makes the appointment, who receives the appointment, and why it is made. Often before appointment the candidates are discussed; always after appointment they are described. And the President can be held by the people to strict account for the appointments which he makes, as he can for every other Executive act. But appointments by the bosses, to be ratified or rejected by the people, are made in secret, by unknown, and therefore irresponsible, persons. There is generally no discussion of the candidates before appointment. Any criticism of them afterward is resented. And there is no way of calling to account the appointing power if the appointment is unsatisfactory. For the bosses are not elected by the people; they are self-elected.

The Outlook takes issue with Mr. Barnes in his assumption that the people are not competent to select their own candidates, and thanks him for stating the issue so clearly. We believe in the competence of the American people. No doubt they have made mistakes. No doubt they are sometimes liable to unreasonable prejudices; sometimes to unreasoning enthusiasms. But political history has repeatedly shown that the popular judgment is more to be trusted than the judgment of the self-selected politicians. The politicians wanted Seward for President; the people wanted Abraham Lincoln; and the Civil War made it perfectly clear which was right. The politicians vigorously opposed the nomination of Mr. Cleveland; the people demanded his nomination, and his Administration abundantly justified their judgment. The "Old Guard" accepted with a wry face the nomination of Mr. Hughes, forced upon them by popular demand; and if the people had the opportunity, they would triumphantly re-elect him for a third term this fall. The wise reformers—and The Outlook agreed with them—opposed the election of Mr. Gaynor as Mayor; the people elected him and rejected the rest of the Tammany ticket; and his administration has been so notable that the citizens of the second city in the world, without regard to party, hope that he will not be persuaded to lay down the work he has begun so admirably in order to take up what we are convinced is the less important task of the Governor of the State.

Democracy is possible without the direct primary. But the opposition to the direct primary is engineered by men who do not believe in democracy. The Outlook believes in democracy, and it believes in the direct primary because it believes in democracy. It believes in the right of the people to rule, because it believes in the competence of the people to rule. And it reaffirms its faith in the maxim:

The remedy for the evils in democracy is more democracy.

## LIVING OUT OF DOORS

The gospel of play is preached and practiced by Americans in rapidly increasing numbers. The nervous strain is far greater than it was a generation ago, but a multitude of men have discovered that the way of health is also the pathway to success, and are intercalating their days of concentrated energy with days of relaxation. The sallow dyspeptic in the black broadcloth coat has given place to a stout, vigorous, aggressive man of affairs who belongs to a golf club, sails a boat, and is his own chauffeur. The contemporary American hunts, fishes, plays tennis, golf, polo; takes a midwinter, as well as a midsummer, vacation; and knows the ardors of mountain climbing. College life goes out of doors with the first flush of spring and stays out of doors until the snow flies. American girls pursue athletics, not with amateurish enthusiasm, but with the trained zeal of the professional. Those who cannot afford expensive recreation crowd excursion steamers and throng near-by seaside resorts. Shop-girls are helped to secure wholesome vacation conditions, and small armies of children are marshaled in tenement districts and sent on innocent predatory expeditions into the country. In a word, there is in America a National movement out of doors with the advent of the season that

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brings back the birds and sets the fields abloom.

But while Americans in great numbers have taken to out-of-door life, they have yet to learn how to live out of doors during the working months and in all the seasons. Europe, which has taught them many things, has still to teach them how to live with Nature day by day instead of going to a distance to find her. The Old World has had time to learn that there is an art of living which includes both work and play and may be practiced at home and on a small income. In spring, summer, and autumn a large part of Europe lives in the open air. Every city has its ample parks, easily accessible, and with few restrictions on popular use. If there is a lovely view, there is a path to it, there are seats from which it may be enjoyed in comfort, there is provision for food at a very moderate cost. In Germany walking parties penetrate every forest and climb every hill; innumerable paths open up the wealth of scenery, not to those who drive motors and stay at expensive hotels, but to those who carry knapsacks on their backs and practice that ancient art of walking which still is, and always will be, the most natural, wholesome, and enjoyable form of travel. In the beautiful Thiergarten in Berlin thousands of people dine every night under the trees, and from the Baltic to the southern frontiers bread is broken and eaten under the early stars.

In France people do not go out of doors; they live out of doors. "What goes on here?" was the characteristic question of a quick-moving American girl as a train drew up at a quiet station and a host of people poured out across the platform into the roads and paths. "Nature," was the equally characteristic reply of a young man of the country. Nature was all-sufficient for the eager multitude; they did not need a programme. The French rivers not only run through France, they run through its habitual life, and are part of its simple, instinctive practice of the art of living. Our rivers are largely given over to commerce; we make excursions on them. The French live with their rivers; they are devout fishermen; in spite of their excitable temperaments they line the river banks. So few are the fish they seem to catch that Mr. James has suggested that they practice the art for the art's sake. On the Seine, the Loire, the Marne, the Allier, they stand or sit patiently hour after hour, glad of the open sky, the smiling landscape with its soft gray-green tone, the glimpse of the village, white-walled and red-roofed, the lush vegetation that sets a gently moving border to the friendly stream.

And wherever there is a town, big or little, there are chairs and tables set under the trees on the shore; and there is not the noisy feasting of excursionists, but the quiet gayety of those who are at home in the open air. The open-air café, the tables in the court of the little inn, or on the sidewalk of the little town, or in private gardens, go far to explain the charming social habit of the French, their instinctive friendliness, their passionate love of their country. That country is only an extension of their homes! And is there any more refreshing prelude to the work and pleasure of the day than the breakfast out of doors? The simple repast of coffee and rolls, with the breath of the morning in the air and the freshness of the awakening earth, becomes a feast of gladness instead of a hurried preparation for work. When will Americans learn how much pleasure they are missing because they so rarely invite Nature to sit at the breakfast-table and give thanks to God for his light and air? And luncheon and dinner have a new zest when the table is spread out of doors and the guests gather as to a feast to which birds are bidden and from which the stars are not shut out. Americans take long journeys and spend great sums of money on camp equipments that they may enjoy a few meals in the open. Why go hundreds of miles and spend hundreds of dollars for a pleasure which can be secured in countless homes by a little thought and expense? Where is the boasted enterprise of the American hotel-keeper, who now talks about revolutionizing Europe, and so rarely provides a form of entertainment which would bring guests flocking to a well-kept, tree-embowered inn, with gardens and tables set out of doors?

The elixir of out-of-door living is compounded of light and air, and these are within reach of the multitude at all sea-

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sons. One morning not long ago the writer saw Monet walking in his beautiful gardens: a vigorous old man with a strong face set in a great mass of gray hair. He walked quietly, but with a step full of vitality, through the long lines of flowers glowing in splendid masses of color in the flooding light, and looked, every inch of him, like a man born and bred out of doors and on intimate terms with the sunshine, the golden air, the streaming beauty of the world. Seeing the old artist among his flowers and so much at home with them, it was easy to understand why it fell to him and to his fellow-impressionists to paint light and air as they had never been painted before; and, in the best examples of their work, to put a new splendor on canvas.

Light and air are also coming into American life, but there must come a far wider and clearer knowledge of their life-giving qualities, their curative power. Where they penetrate the plague cannot originate, nor can disease thrive; they are the deadly foes of the germ. In their absence the white plague takes on the proportions of a pestilence; the cure for tuberculosis is not medicine, but air and light, the concentrated vitality of out-of-doors. The lesson of health by living out of doors must be learned by all classes; for the people who realize the necessity of breathing fresh air are few. Ventilation is still regarded as a "fad" or luxury by too many builders of churches, halls, and school-houses. The unhappy preacher has to push through a dead mass of bad air before he can reach his congregation; in the theaters and concert-halls a dull weight rests on the audience. An Englishman greatly beloved in this country had occasion, not long ago, to speak in many places. He is a man of exceptional vigor, accustomed to an out-of-door life, but he found himself almost exhausted by the bad air of the halls and churches in which he spoke. He declares that in one hall the air was so deadly that he fell asleep while he was being introduced!

The country is full of school-rooms in which teachers and pupils are unconsciously drugged; and dullness of mind is charged against children who are poisoned by bad air. An open window often transforms the spirit of a recitation-room. In the schools in which boys and girls sit with open windows in the coldest weather there is a minimum of that deadly indifference which is the bane of the teacher's life, and a maximum of that fresh and vital interest which is the teacher's exceeding great reward. Jack is a dull boy when he has nothing to breathe, and he is not responsible for his stupidity; Jill is listless and idle when she is denied the air which vitalizes, and the marks which deface her record ought to be charged up against the architect or the school committee. We are doing better in these matters of fundamental health conditions, but we have still much to learn.

The open-air treatment is coming more and more into use, but its use does not begin far enough back; it ought to begin before the child is born! We have learned the joys of the out-of-door life in part; now we must learn how to live out of doors, which is a different matter; and we must learn how to bring the vitality of out-of-doors into our houses. The sleeping-porch grows in favor, but the sleeping-porch is a luxury; the windows thrown wide to the air and light make living out of doors possible to the vast majority of people. A flood of sunlight and a current of fresh air may be had by most people for the asking; open the windows and invite Nature to become one of the household!

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# UNITING THE FORCES

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK

EVERYWHERE, whether it is in the streets of the city, the expanse of the prairie, the country road, the wooded hill, the hotel lobby, the huge tent, the park, the railway station, there seems to be the same mass of upturned human faces and waving human arms. At one moment we are making our way through a lane formed by two lines of militiamen in khaki or policemen in blue, at another we are turning and twisting our way between men and women and almost over unchartered children. This is what it means to be in the West with Mr. Roosevelt. If a local committee, presuming on his good nature, announces that he is to appear before a public meeting for which he has made no engagement, the hall is packed. More than one such unauthorized announcement has brought disappointment to thousands. People throng, not only to see and hear him, but also to express their admiration and confidence. In many places they have gathered where there was no chance to see or hear him. Their only purpose could have been to show how they felt.

This was illustrated by the experiences of one Sunday. The only opportunity for rest, because it is the only opportunity for release from the crowds, has been while the train has been in motion. On Friday, September 2, Omaha had given Mr. Roosevelt what the newspapers had called a "day of rest," which involved a morning of personal interviews, a luncheon with two or three hundred men, a formal banquet, an evening at a meeting of a fraternal organization, and four set speeches, one before an audience of some fifteen thousand people. The next day, Saturday, was really strenuous. Even the most captious composer of newspaper headlines did not venture to dub that day "quiet." It ended with a display of fireworks which continuously sizzled and popped in the street just below the windows of our rooms to the accompaniment of a brass band, followed by a banquet which began at half-past nine and lasted till after midnight. We looked forward to the next day with pleasure. It was Sunday, and it was to be passed on a continuous and, as we had planned, uninterrupted journey from Sioux Falls, South Dakota, through Minnesota to the metropolis of North Dakota, Fargo. Several telegrams had come to Mr. Roosevelt requesting him to stop at various points on the route and make speeches, but to each he sent the reply that, as it was Sunday, he would take the day for rest. The train ran as a special. No stops were scheduled. I think I shall recall those few moments after our train began to roll out over the expanse of South Dakota whenever in future I hear the announcement of the hymn, "Welcome, Sweet Day of Rest." It was, however, only a few moments. We unexpectedly heard a sound of distant cheering, suddenly rising to a *sforzando*, and then as suddenly dying away. As I looked up through the window in the rear of our car, I saw a receding station which seemed to rest upon a little troubled sea of people. It was easy to foresee what we should find as we proceeded. So word was sent up to the engineer that if, as he looked ahead, he saw any considerable group of people, he should slow down, come to a stop for an instant, and then immediately start again. Thereafter, all morning and all afternoon, until six o'clock in the evening, every few moments we would hear the grinding of the air-brakes upon the wheels, and then, like the sound of wind instruments over the roll of drums, the shrill chorus of welcoming cries. We would see the people with the rush of an inflow of waters bank themselves against the rear of the train, and then, after Mr. Roosevelt had bidden them good luck and good-by, watch them disappear toward the horizon with the procession of impassive telegraph posts.

At one wayside station every man, woman, and child in a crowd of a hundred or two carried a good-sized American flag. At another wayside station telegraph posts were wound with bunting. At another a brass band of small boys valiantly and creditably blared and pounded out the "Star-Spangled Banner." At



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another station, when Mr. Roosevelt had time merely to grasp a hand or two and say how he appreciated the greetings, a slender little woman approaching middle age, whose fine face seemed to testify that she had read much and had taught many a young child, ventured with touching earnestness and pleasure to say, "This is more than we expected." This feeling that this modest gentlewoman expressed, that there was satisfaction in simply showing that they and Mr. Roosevelt were on the same side, seemed to animate not only the smaller gatherings but also the great crowds. Time after time Mr. Roosevelt faced a throng of a thousand or two only to exchange with them the simplest and plainest words of greeting. At one point, where the necessity for changing engines or perhaps taking water required a stop of three or four minutes, some two or three thousand people, who had assembled not only from the town but also from the farms round about, listened to one of these compact, aphoristic, brief addresses of his that are called, with about equal pertinence, both platitudinous and revolutionary. All moral truth, when it is not applied but remains abstract, is platitudinous; it becomes revolutionary when it is applied to conduct and made concrete. It is not customary for a congregation to cheer a sermon; but, as our train drew away, that congregation cheered. There was heartiness in those cheers, as in all the greetings extended by the people in the West, that can be explained only on the ground that those people, drawn together of their own common impulse, firmly believe, not only that those revolutionary platitudes are profoundly true, but also that they have been embodied in the public career of the man who utters them. In other words, these people, as Mr. Roosevelt would be the first to acknowledge, have been acclaiming their idea of him.

I have chosen that Sunday as a typical day because the occurrences of that day make very clear three facts regarding the popular demonstrations that have accompanied Mr. Roosevelt wherever he has gone on this trip—their spontaneity, their moral force, and their personal objective. No such crowds could possibly have been collected by the most assiduous efforts of highly organized committees. No such crowds could have been collected apart from interest in moral questions. No such crowds could have been collected if they had been intent merely on an abstract idea. It was because they came of their own will, impelled by a moral purpose to greet a man, that they came at all. One thing more: in those Sunday crowds there was not one indication of partisanship; manifestations of party politics were conspicuously lacking. This reiterated popular demonstration on Sunday, typical as it was of the demonstrations on every other day of the trip, is in fact a vivid and dramatic outburst of a feeling which has been growing in the American people for years, and which has had several other but more sporadic vivid expressions, particularly in the last few months. Variously called social unrest, Insurgency, and the Progressive Movement, it has been smoldering long in the Western country. And wherever it has shown itself it has displayed the qualities of which I have spoken—spontaneity, moral force, and responsiveness to disinterested political leadership. Some men, notably in the East, have been puzzled by it. They have asked me more than once to explain its appearance at this time. They have inquired: "Are not the people of the West prosperous? Why, then, do they allow themselves to be switched off into a new movement? Why are they not contented? Why do they become excited over new political leaders?"

Such inquirers seem unable to conceive of a popular movement that is neither organized from the top downward, nor set in motion by material distress, nor guided under the direction of the orthodox political manager. The fact is that the Progressive Movement was at first less effective than its extensiveness would seem to warrant. It has spread most rapidly where the people have by their general prosperity been free enough from the distractions of sharp poverty to think clearly upon questions of social justice and public morality, and it has created and educated a new set of public leaders.

Mr. Roosevelt's trip has, it seems to me, already, before it is completed, provided for this movement what it has

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heretofore lacked—a National unity. At Osawatomie Mr. Roosevelt enunciated a National platform on which the people of progressive spirit and determination have already shown that they will stand. At St. Paul, before the National Conservation Congress, Mr. Roosevelt, taking up the live issue then presented, applied with vigor and without ambiguity the Progressive principle to the concrete question which his audience had under consideration. I cannot here take space for a description of that great occasion. It is sufficient here to say that the contest between those who were eager for the devotion of natural resources to the mercies of private interests and those who were determined that those resources should not be taken from the control of the whole people was keen and unmistakable. On the one side were those who openly avowed their desire to put all such resources as far as possible into the care of the various States, thus subjecting them to comparatively weak public authority and exposing them to strong corporate powers. On the other were those who were vigorously urgent that those resources be protected against the uncertain manipulation of such corporate powers of National extent by the exercise of governmental powers equally extensive. Mr. Roosevelt clearly and unmistakably declared not only for the retention of Federal control over such resources as are still in the possession of the Nation, but also for the recovery of such control, so far as possible, wherever it has been thoughtlessly abandoned. Again, at Freeport, where the labor question was the subject under consideration before an audience of railway employees, Mr. Roosevelt applied the principles of the Progressive Movement to that subject. Standing strongly against every suggestion to deal unjustly with the corporations, he reiterated his conviction that the soldiers of industry should not be compelled to bear alone the burden of industrial accident, but that the whole people should bear that burden automatically; and when he reminded his hearers that railway rates should be sufficient to provide not only adequate wages and reasonable dividends, but also the cost of inevitable accidents, he simply applied the same Progressive principles regarding the public interest to another specific question.

In the old days on the cattle ranges of the Western plains, when men took a herd of cattle on the trail, some men had to ride behind to drive up the "drags," and others had to ride ahead to lead and to keep the cattle from scattering over the prairies. Now, in every such movement as this there are drags and there are scatterbrains. But men are not cattle. It is useless to try to drive up the drags or drive back the reckless wanderers. They just will not be driven. What is needed is some one in whom all those men believe, whose voice will call together the slow and the impulsive, and keep them, by force of reason and clear thinking, in the company of the great body of the people. That is what no one until now has been able to do, and that is what Mr. Roosevelt in this trip has been doing. He has, on the one hand, sent a thrill of energy into the hearts of some men who, conscientious and rightly inclined, have been timid, uncertain, or disheartened; and, on the other hand, he has had emphatic words of restraint for those who in their enthusiasm have been trotting off to the right and left in search of a millennial state just beyond the horizon. This, I think, is the explanation of the apparently sudden and effective solidifying of the Progressives that is the most impressive feature of the situation now in the West.

I speak only as an observer, not as a student, of present conditions. It has been a rapid survey that I have had, not an intimate view. There are, however, some things that can be seen at a distance which might be overlooked, or imperfectly seen; near at hand. The very rapidity of this trip has enabled me to see the situation in several States almost simultaneously. I am convinced that throughout the West, this side of the Rocky Mountains, Progressive sentiment is overwhelmingly preponderant; that it is the creation of a spontaneous popular feeling; that it is nothing if it is not thoroughly a moral force; that it finds satisfaction only as it is expressed in the deeds of men; and that it has now assumed the character of a unified movement.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

Chicago, Illinois, September 8, 1910.

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# THE AMERICAN WOMAN AND HER HOME

The Outlook has published two articles dealing with different aspects of the problems of American home life—"Some Failures of American Women," by Mrs. Newell Dwight Hillis, and "Our House in Order," by Mrs. W. O. Robb. The two problems therein discussed—the divorce problem and the servant problem—are in certain aspects quite widely separated, but in their common relation to the life of American women (and American men as well) in the home they have a strong bond of unity. These two papers have attracted considerable comment from Outlook readers, and we print here some of this comment, which seems to us to throw light from different angles upon this vital subject.—THE EDITORS.

## THE AMERICAN COLLEGE WOMAN IN THE HOME

IT is with great interest that I have read the article by Mrs. Newell Dwight Hillis on "Some Failures of American Women" (The Outlook, July 16). But there is one large class of American women about whom Mrs. Hillis seems to be misinformed.

Mrs. Hillis says that the lack of necessity for actual manual work in the care of home and children, with the increased complexity of the housekeeping of to-day, combined with a higher education for girls, in which "the study of books is made paramount" and the art of home-making is left out, are direct causes for many unbearable conditions resulting in the divorces of women who, as girls, were brought up in homes of affluence.

It is the aim of women's colleges to graduate women who can take their places in the world and fill them successfully in whatever sphere they may happen to be, not excluding the home. It is the married college woman whom I feel has been wrongfully censured by Mrs. Hillis in an otherwise carefully written article. Technical training in the art of home-making is not included in the curricula of the women's colleges, but my observations prove that the married graduates of Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr have so been trained to think and to work systematically that in their homes there is a nearer approach to the perfection of economy of time and money and a proper distribution of labor, with the distinct atmosphere of the well-regulated home, than in many homes where the housewife has greater practical knowledge of cooking and sewing, but no head for system or the executive ability to direct even one domestic.

When one considers the ignorance and lack of intelligence of the people employed as house servants and seamstresses, and considers that in a short time this class of women command good wages and give fair results, it is my belief and experience that any well-educated girl can acquire in an extremely short time, if necessity demands, what makes these ignoramuses invaluable.

My observations also lead me to state with conviction that the girls who are brought up in homes of affluence, who have there had the advantages of higher education and of the best society, adapt themselves very readily to less affluent conditions after marriage, and, through their education both in college and in their homes, where they have learned much through living in an atmosphere of good housekeeping, prove themselves not only capable of creating a well-regulated home, but of entering into the partnership in the right way.

I do not undervalue technical education in home-making. Courses in cooking and sewing make a girl all the more proficient, of course, but even if they get crowded out by the more important college course and the subsequent year or two of "social engagements and idleness," I am confident of her success as a home-maker if it is in her at all. She may be deficient in this respect, and, if so, no number of courses in domestic schools of science will help her.

Home-making is an instinct to a large extent, and where it is accompanied by a well-trained mind the success of the home is assured.

The most convincing proof of the success of the girl of "higher education" as home-maker is to be found in the very small percentage of divorces among college



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women. "The busy idle woman" of the cities is of course a drag on society, as Mrs. Hillis says, but statistics would show that these women are largely from the not highly educated class.

With the smaller necessity for manual labor for women in their homes there is the greater possibility for women to be the intellectual companions of their husbands. This and the "kindergarten for the small child," instead of making the "imperative work of the housekeeper and mother less and less," enable her to make imperative the duty of taking an interest in the topics of the day in which all intelligent men are conversant and all intelligent women should be.

To English women, their country and its politics are a live interest. When the American woman is more like her English sister, she will find the American man not too weary to enter the atmosphere which she can help him create after business hours, and she will get what she wants most—his companionship.

ALBERTINE FLERSHEM VALENTINE.
Chicago, Illinois.

## THE SERVANT QUESTION

The servant question, like the poor, we have always with us. Excellent and far-reaching as are many of the suggestions made in Mrs. Robb's "Our House in Order" in The Outlook, there are many housekeepers who do not find the problem solved for them by the system there set forth. Two intelligent, self-respecting women who come by the day, and the laundry work done out of the house, constitute a condition entirely beyond the reach of the ordinary housewife, however much such a plan would please her, and however capable she might be to get on smoothly under such a system.

Three-fourths of the women who are clamoring for better service can barely afford to keep one girl, at the present prices of food and wages; and yet help they must have or break down in health, or break up housekeeping. And so a multitude of women are on the verge of nervous collapse, and a multitude of families are unwillingly crowding second-rate boarding-houses.

Take a family where the income is $1,500, and where there are three children under eight years of age. If the mother is to get any outing with her husband, there must be a maid in the house in the evening. Then, not many women with three little children to care for can regularly prepare breakfast in time for the husband to "make his car." For such families outside help will not do.

I believe it is possible for any really intelligent woman to achieve success with the present system—one maid-of-all-work—despite the prejudice against housework which throws into it, for the most part, only the less capable class of working-girls.

First of all, the housewife should remember that really efficient service is rare, and if she gets it at all it will be the reward of her patient and skillful training; then she will not feel herself imposed upon because she does not find in her maid "all the Christian virtues." She should take care in the selection she makes, seeking above almost all other things willingness to be taught. Usually a good mistress can, by means of her reputation—for mistresses are sized up as well as servants—get a fairly good girl if she takes time. She will show her wisdom by not waiting till the last day of grace before she looks up a helper. A friend of mine—one of those women who have solved the problem—says, "I select my servants with as much care as I do my friends."

Next, there must be systematic care for the girl's comfort. She is a part of the household, and the efficient housewife looks to the comfort of all. The maid should have, to develop her self-respect, a neat and tasteful room. Her work should be watched that she may not be overburdened. The hours are long in domestic service, but with judicious planning there may be, on most days, several hours of leisure. These a wise mistress will encourage a girl, by the use of the sewing-machine and an occasional gift of pretty material, to employ for the improvement of her wardrobe; and, by the offer of interesting books, for the improvement of her mind. That a girl has no such leisure, but is expected as soon as her work is done to take the baby, or do some other task, is mismanagement; and to this is owing in large measure the vexatious habit many girls have of dawdling over their work and never getting through.

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It is often remarked that we need trained servants; this is true, but we need trained mistresses much more: mistresses who know how work ought to be done, who are liberal-minded enough to let a competent servant take her own way in unimportant matters, but who know how to direct; who are really and truly the *head* of the house, planning for its smooth running in ordinary affairs, and able to meet and manage those emergencies which are sure to come in the best-regulated families. MARIA L. SANFORD.

Minneapolis, Minnesota.

## DIVORCE AND THE FAMILY

Mrs. Newell Dwight Hillis, in her excellent paper on "Some Failures of American Women," treats of divorce and of some of its contributory causes, and throws a side-light upon the family which is illuminating.

Legislation may correct a few divorce laws, may regulate somewhat the etiquette of divorce methods, may establish a scale of prices for alimony, "making the punishment fit the crime," as it were, but all that does not affect the matter at all. It leaves the roots of the plant untouched to throw out their poisonous shoots just as vigorously as ever. Divorce is a virulent disease, and, naturally, the home is its first victim. Yet it is in this very spot that the antidote for this poison is to be found, if ever. The stricken home must cure itself. It is a mistake to suppose that the home needs no cultivation, that it can grow of itself. It needs all that the most enlightened, the most exalted humanity can bestow upon it of love and fostering care, and always at the entrance the vigilant guardians who will see to it that no unclean thing enters there. Many people fear that this would mean a reversion to an ancient type of morals and manners, now, in their imagination, worn out and obsolete; but it is not necessary to go back to a puritanical system of home discipline. There is a safe mean between too much restraint and too much license which might be observed to the advantage of both State and individual.

And the conservators of this mean should be the father and mother of the home, for it is in their keeping that the first springs of character, whence flow the issues of life and death, are placed. But while the father and mother are conjointly the pillars of the home fabric, it is to the mother that we must look for an answer to the question why this institution, on which we pride ourselves so much, should seem to fail us at this critical time. For it cannot be denied that a spirit of anarchy has invaded our most sacred precinct and turned everything topsy-turvy. The children rule; the father and mother are their humble subjects. False ideas of the moral and the unmoral, of duty and responsibility, of the fit and the unfit, have taken the place of the simple formulas the world used to live by, and the result is a *bouleversement*.

In the vast majority of American homes the father has his fixed engagement with fate to leave the house at an early hour, work hard all day, returning at nightfall or a little sooner, according as the mills of his gods cease their grind, and he cannot, therefore, take an equal share in the management of the household. The mother, then, is necessarily the party of the first part in this transaction, and it is upon her that the burden of the proof rests. She is monarch of all she surveys; her kingdom is at her feet. What is the mother's exhibit in regard to her stewardship?

The child's education should begin at birth, but this truism is too old-fashioned to meet with modern approval. To educate is to call forth, to draw out, as the sun, the wind, and the dew help to unfold the flower; but that is too slow a process for this age of steam. We want results to show immediately, and the long years of preparation are ignored. In their stead a veneer of shallow accomplishments is laid on, and the daughter (it is generally she) is sent out into the world ignorant of and careless for the losses and crosses which she must inevitably meet there.

And, as Mrs. Hillis asks, is it any wonder that she fails? Accustomed from infancy to live, move, and have her being at her own sweet will, long before she comes to womanhood she scorns all restraint, flouts the idea of submitting her will to a mere father and mother, and not infrequently emulates Phaeton of old, and risks a world to prove her independence. And the mother aids and abets her, under the delusion that she is giving her a good

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time, forgetting that there is no good time outside of duty done and responsibility bravely met and borne.

The American girl, as a rule, is bright and pleasing, and as a rule she marries. Thanks to a devoted mother, she carries to her new home an empty head, and an empty heart, and the insistent desire for all the good things of life, without the corresponding desire to give an equivalent for them. As she wears no armor against fate, the first hitch in the proceedings disillusions her; she cries out that she is cheated, and loses no time in making a change of programme. The cloud that is at first not nearly so large as the traditional hand grows by rapid accretions, until finally the last ray of the sun of love and confidence is blotted from the marital heaven, and fortune's wheel must make another turn. And to the flippant modern mind there seems but one road to take—the road to divorce. Is it any wonder that the divorce mill is so busy grinding out its monthly grist?

Mrs. L. A. McGuffey.
La Grange, Illinois.

## SUCCESSES OF AMERICAN WOMEN

The article on "Some Failures of American Women," by Mrs. Hillis, has much in it that needed to be said. The writer endeavors to safeguard her position by showing clearly which aspects of the subject she is discussing, and which she leaves untouched. It is this desire that leads me to call attention to two matters which seem to me to be of significance. When all other interests and institutions in modern life have been compelled to acknowledge the necessity of (1) training for expertness, and (2) conscious relationship to larger social organizations, it is not strange that the interests represented in the home must meet these problems. America's women may not have succeeded in taking front rank in painting and other arts in which the trail has been blazed for centuries, but what European country can show women who have done as much for the home in these two needs as have those of America? I have spent considerable time in various English and Continental schools for training for experts in household economics, but I know of none which are grappling with the situation so intelligently as are several in America, notably Teachers College in New York City, with its unrivaled equipment. Equally important is the work of those women who have seen that isolated homes are almost helpless in the surge of modern industrial and social changes, and have set themselves to make possible and effective the efforts of others in more limited fields. The work of Mrs. Richards, Mrs. Woolman, and many others in training for expertness, and of Miss Addams, Mrs. Kelley, Miss Wald, and their associates in a hundred cities, make an important credit for the women to be placed to the account of the Home vs. American Women.

Frank A. Manny.
Western State Normal School,
Kalamazoo, Michigan.

## WHO IS TO BLAME?

Thoughtful people of to-day will warmly welcome anything which will make women consider more seriously the evils attending the rapidly increasing divorce rate.

Women do err in all of the ways indicated by Mrs. Hillis. Realizing that Mrs. Hillis wishes primarily to make the women think—to stop, look, and listen—the writer omits criticism of two or three minor points to which objection might be made. One statement seems quite unjustified, however. Because "two-thirds of the actions for divorce" are brought by women, Mrs. Hillis feels that the fault lies with the women. That does not necessarily follow. (One might expect *man*—never famed for patience—to demand a fair share of the divorces if the *women* were so greatly to blame.)

Every one of us knows of cases where women probably erred in not securing divorces, or at least legal separation. Sometimes this was due to the desire to avoid notoriety—to protect her children from the "disgrace of a divorce." But more often it was due (1) to the dread of not being able to support and educate the children, or (2) to the astounding fact that there was no surety that the unfit husband might not be given whole or partial charge of some or all of the children. A few years ago, in New Jersey, a mother was forced to secure a divorce from her husband, a drunken scamp.

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For some time she had supported the children by teaching. The husband, by the terms of the divorce, was given complete control over the children every Sunday. Now that most women are taught first to be self-supporting, and now that (by law in some States, and through the influence of general opinion in others) there is more justice in the awarding of guardianship, women hesitate less to rid themselves of an influence degrading to themselves and harmful to their children.

New York City. B. C.

## IS OUR SYSTEM OUTWORN?

"Our House in Order," by Juliet Everts Robb, has provoked the writer to submit views on the domestic question long held in private. In my opinion the present system is outworn, and it cannot be patched up by shorter hours or extra privileges. The fleeing of women from domestic service is simply the result of the revolt of woman against the tyranny of the past, which held that woman's place was in the home, no matter under what conditions. The matter is one not to be worked out by one woman here and there, because one woman cannot build up for one house the machinery that will accomplish the work now done by the domestic servant. Hence the need of co-operation. The apartment-house solution is, to me, an abomination. My plan begins with the building of the house; simplicity is the keynote. The house will be built to be supplied with heat and hot water from a common plant, thus eliminating the work and dust of both heater and coal range; that means a great saving of labor. It also insures a clean cellar, which may be used for storage, doing away thereby with the extra room above floors to be used as a storeroom. As no servant is to be kept, there will be no bedroom needed for the servant. Family laundries, where all one's clothes may be washed without injury to the fabric, are a feature of the system, thus doing away with the dreaded wash-day, and incidentally with the laundry or back kitchen.

By eliminating these three rooms mentioned the house will cost less to build, and it will require less work to care for it. All the floors in this proposed house are to be of hardwood, the inside walls painted instead of papered; the greater cost of this last will be more than counterbalanced by the cutting out of the three rooms before mentioned. The hardwood floors and painted walls will be labor-saving, and when combined with the vacuum cleaner will render that bugbear, the semi-annual house-cleaning, unnecessary, and the sanitary conditions will come up to present-day requirements. There will be no inside shutters to this ideal house, for a practical housekeeper will tell you that the time required to keep those clean virtually makes their cleaning prohibitive; there will be no many-paned, if artistic, windows, for the same reason (since it is the corners that take the time).

In the furnishing of this house the Japanese idea will be followed, in the absence of all unnecessary furnishings—no bric-à-brac—a single good picture on the prettily tinted walls, a single vase. The woodwork will be elegantly simple, with no scrolls or ridges for the lodgment of dust; the furniture will follow the same simple lines, with no upholstery to catch dust as well as add to the expense.

This house will also be furnished with a telephone system connecting the front and back doors with both upstairs and downstairs, so that calls may be answered without requiring the housekeeper to go to the door.

So much for the planning of the house, though I may add that each house will have a pantry with a built-in refrigerator, so the ice may be put in from the outside, which saves the opening of the door and the tracking in of dirt and dripping of water by the iceman. Such a house, for one who is able and willing to do her own work, will make labor much lighter. But the system which is in my mind is an elastic one, and will enable the housekeeper to do just as much or just as little of the actual labor as she chooses or her pocketbook will permit, and still retain all the privacy of her own home, a privacy that, to me at least, is dearer than life.

In order to accomplish this, there must be establishments, conveniently and frequently located, where one may engage all or some of the daily meals to be delivered hot at one's house and paid for by the week. The housekeeper may order all the meals, only breakfasts, only din-

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ners, or as she pleases. In the morning she will be supplied over the telephone with a menu for the day, and she will give her order for her meals just as she now orders the uncooked food from the market; and this will only be a little enlarging upon the cooking of Bob Cratchit's goose, which was so eminently satisfactory.

At other establishments she may engage help, male or female, by the hour, to wash dishes, clean, or do any of the work now done by the servant. For example, one woman likes to do her own cooking, so she cooks the three meals a day, hiring helpers to wash all the dishes and do the weekly cleaning. Another housekeeper, who wishes to be free when her husband is at home in the evening, prepares breakfast and luncheon, washes the dishes and does all the cleaning, but orders her dinners daily, and has her dinner dishes washed by a helper. There must be also nurseries from which competent helpers may be obtained to care for a child or children by the hour, or where one may leave one's child while doing shopping or attending to social duties. From such helpers, to whom no social stigma will be attached, and whose hours of labor are to be entirely within his or her control, skilled labor will be expected; and then the household may be conducted as is any other well-managed business, and with the privacy that makes homes sacred. Every woman who, by accepting an offer of marriage, becomes the prospective head of such an establishment, should be required to take a course in training to enable her to manage a household efficiently.

And last, but most important, it must be recognized that no woman can properly run her household unless there is a proper balance maintained between the number of children she bears and her strength, the number of children and the bread-winner's earning capacity. A. D. M.

Wayne, Pennsylvania.

## WHY AND WHERE WOMEN'S LIVES ARE INADEQUATE

It is self-evident that women's lives in general as they are being lived here and now fall short of efficiency for their own personal satisfaction. It is also sufficiently proven that there is far more self-satisfaction in the normal lives of men, even under similar conditions of petty detail and routine drudgery, more tranquillity of spirit and contentment of mind, than among women.

It may be because the woman is like her brother more than she is unlike him, and has like needs and necessities equally insistent in her, which have not in her experience been met, that she is dissatisfied. There are simple human needs common to both.

Two features are curiously persistent in the "wuzzy" thinking which often passes for ideas on woman's education—her capacity is regarded as wholly problematical, and the purpose of her education as vague and intangible as a will-o'-the-wisp. By her educational training there are generated energy and power which undirected and uncontrolled work havoc with the machine, if not with its surroundings.

The college girl, with her ambition and aspiration stimulated, and with all her powers for activity strengthened by modern knowledge and training in systematic work and habits of thought, comes home into a mediæval system of domestic economy, where her modern training fits about as well as a modern silk hat would fit a mediæval saint, and into a society where she is expected to be the unexpressible something called "womanly," which is, in practice, to add to the "gayety of nations," live on the earnings of somebody else if possible, do what is useful always in the name of charity, and *wait*, if she must, for the sole legitimate purpose of her existence, the position of wife and mother, in which she is expected to find full satisfaction through her sympathies and her emotions. Women in their clubs broaden their capacities with knowledge and research; they have more to express, more energy to use, but where is the purpose? It is not surprising that the college graduate is chiefly conspicuous for her capacity to keep things going, her originality in entertainment, her charm of conversation, and her command of picturesque and striking style; nor that constant movemen and sensation are the prime necessities to nearly all women of the more intelligent class. They differ not at all from men under the same conditions.

Women's activities have never been evolved out of the mediæval conditions of

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automatic self-sufficiency and industrial social isolation. It is not necessary that women should do men's work to find adequate personal satisfaction. The critics of woman's dissatisfied condition are perfectly right when they say that her own peculiar field of activity has enough of possibility and need for all her powers.

The culinary department of every home is a laboratory where are constantly carried on experiments in the chemistry of life. Let women cease to regard it as a necessary evil of ceaseless, distasteful drudgery, the sole purpose of which is just to stoke the physical engines of the immediate family, or, at best, to experiment in picturesque mixtures for the delectation of some favored guest. Let the time and skill spent in concocting new, indigestible, and bizarre effects in viands to astonish novelty seekers or tempt jaded appetites be applied to the real chemistry of life, with not only the purpose of service to her family, but with the same sense of responsibility to the world with which the chemist and physicist in the laboratories work to add their results to the sum of human knowledge. Experiments made under natural, normal conditions are worth any amount of experiment under artificial conditions for a special purpose. The world is waiting for the results of the experimenting of thoroughly trained women in the laboratories of their own homes for that body of reliable knowledge which will lift wholesome living to a science. It can be found nowhere else.

Let every woman devote the energy now used in comparing notes with the neighbors on the relative inadequacy of individual maids or cooks to the special conditions in their respective households, to a common study of the conditions and consequences in the present system of domestic service. In seeking to better the service in her own case, let her see to it that she does not forget her social obligations to neglect no opportunity to better the whole system. Every branch of household science and art suffers to-day from the lack of this social interest, and the world suffers in every other department on account of it.

Beauty is as necessary in man's environment as light, and woman's birthright gives her not only her share in the joy in its contemplation, but that more intimate satisfaction of being a part of it. Every woman owes to her family, to society, and to herself the sacred obligation to be a thing of beauty. It should be a part of the education of every girl to know her own "good points," and how to make the most of them. No woman was ever so poor in physical attractiveness that, properly clothed, she did not add to the beauty of the world. The more a woman deviates from the common type, the more care perhaps must be spent upon her native sense of the beautiful and the cultivation of her taste, but usually the reward will be great in proportion.

What a realm of personal satisfaction will be opened up when artistry in dress becomes the rule and not the notable exception! Only a woman knows how far-reaching is the satisfaction in the gown that fits in every sense the wearer and helps to make her a harmonious part of the ever-changing picture of life; and it is surely only women who find any satisfaction in being monstrosities and conspicuous from their glaring unfitness for any pictorial effect, except perhaps caricature.

The intimate satisfaction in the life of the affections, in the close, vital ties of motherhood and wifehood, lies not in what is given or received, but in what through them the woman becomes. Not in what she gets out of her children in affection, not in their care for her, does the mother find her highest and permanent satisfaction, but in what they stimulate her to be: what she aspires to be in order to keep pace with their ever-growing aspirations in an ever-widening world—her sympathies ever broadening to take in their developing purposes. Unless motherhood is to become a crown of thorns, mothers must, for their own sakes, obtain and maintain the widest freedom for their children, must encourage their broadest and strongest development and the expression of all their individual powers. Mother's sympathy in the boy's highest dreams are of more consequence to *both* than any material good she can render him. Companionship built upon the respect of each for the other's opinions and purposes, and sympathy which must

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often do duty for comprehension, form one great reward of motherhood.

The difference in outward circumstances and conditions alone will not account for the greatly lessened deference and reverence which the woman of to-day meets, nor will it be increased by trying to make her mysterious, by building a Chinese wall around her youth, by isolating her education and chaperoning out all freedom of mutual acquaintance between boys and girls. The soul of man is greater than any conditions, and it rests with him whether they shall degrade or minister to his uplift.

Men and women are trying the experiment of mutual exclusion, partially or wholly, each trying to emphasize antagonistically their peculiarities, the useless and unlovely as well as the essential and normally useful. Unfortunately for the experiment, they were created neither identical nor yet differentiated enough for either to form a new species and isolate itself; they need each other, the *whole* of each other, and, far as it may seem to be from the facts of to-day, far even as it is supposed to be from the desires of men, yet the supreme satisfaction in the close relation of husband and wife is comradeship, and the efficient woman will have it. Therein lies her efficiency—in winning it out of the existing conditions, whatever for her they may be. She must win for herself the right to be herself; independence for her thought won by its usefulness, wisdom, and soundness, independence for her action by its efficiency for a good purpose. For comradeship can exist only between *equals* and *individuals*.

# THE ROMANCE OF MISSIONS AND THEIR LACK OF ROMANCE

## BY CHARLES H. BRENT, MISSIONARY[1]

THE luxury of modern travel across continent and ocean, the comfort of living at moderate cost in most countries of the world, the facilities of communication by post and wire and wireless which bind the ends of the earth in chatty neighborliness, have robbed forever the vocation of the foreign missionary of any special claim to self-sacrifice, and of that halo of romance which somehow attaches itself to voluntary undertakings in conditions of physical hardship.

What travel there may be off the beaten track is in the main only such as a virile man should rejoice in. In the larger towns and cities, and in many of the smaller places, the necessities of life are available, and missionaries have no grounds for self-pity or claim upon the pity of pious admirers at home; if, in a few stations among the fast-diminishing primitive peoples or in remote Asiatic posts, there are missionaries of religion and government living lives of marked hardships such as endanger their physical well-being, they are in the minority; moreover, they would be the last ones to claim that they were doing anything heroic. They are heroes, but it is characteristic of a hero that he disclaims his heroism.

The tropics of our day are being steadily tempered by the white man's mastery of conditions, until they are becoming healthy, and, in many places, so full of compensations as to create in not a few persons unwillingness to live elsewhere. Complete isolation is a rapidly vanishing discipline. The sources of the Nile and the "roof of the world" are within hailing distance of New York in these days when a man has laid his hand on the North Pole. There is little left of this globe of ours to explore, and soon from sheer necessity we shall be forced to turn our attention to what may be "lost behind the ranges" of the moon's cordillera.

These things being so, it is time for us

[1] Dr. Brent is, as most of our readers know, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Philippines.—THE EDITORS.

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to drop, once and for all, that sentimental regard for missions and missionaries which is belittling to the missionary cause, supporters and missionaries alike. It is always harmful and unfair to pretend that the ordinary is the extraordinary. If, a while since, the missionary's vocation was an extraordinary one, it is no longer so. It is now simply a normal part of religious duty, and should be accepted and recognized as such. When this is accomplished, we shall be in the way of securing the kind and number of missionaries that are needed.

All of us, doubtless, have been stung at one time or another, especially in the enthusiasm of beginnings, with a sense of the splendor of martyrdom and its attendant impulse to glory, and have spoken as St. Paul did of the things which concern our weakness—our perils and journeyings and all the rest of our thrilling hardships, many of them in reality not more than the average fisherman or hunter goes through during his annual vacation. Probably some of us also feel, like the Apostle, though with more reason, that we spoke as fools. Bodily violence to the missionary is becoming less and less likely, and the martyrdom of the future will, at any rate, not be that most undesirable form of martyrdom in which a man is rushed into the glory of the next world at the cost of those who promoted him thither becoming murderers and criminals. In our day religious feuds ending in brutality or slaughter are increasingly inexcusable, whether between Christians and adherents of other beliefs or between two opposing sects of Christians. Denunciation of doctrine and a sort of religious braggadocio which flaunts a given phase of faith in the face of those who believe otherwise have been known to end in physical violence. A person dying in such circumstances is hardly a martyr. He is one of a mob who dies in the disorder of a mob. The true martyr is one who, like Livingstone, constructively and wisely pursues a noble purpose to the end and with deep sincerity declares, "I never made a sacrifice."

The real hardship of the missionary is that which founders of empire as well as religion have had to face from the beginning—failure from whatever cause on the part of the pioneer to make others see the vision of the "things that belong to their peace," neglect until it is too late of imperial opportunity by those on whose word and support action is dependent, timidity on the part of executive and administrative forces which clings to a policy and methods long since become threadbare. Of hardship of this sort there is enough and to spare.

To-day the missionary opportunity is at its height. It must be taken. There are a few primary principles that we need to emphasize:

1. Missionary work is a normal vocation for normal (that is to say, the best) men and women. Romance in missionary work, in domestic and foreign fields alike, is in the character of the man who undertakes it, and not in the character of the work undertaken. There is no more romance in mission work in Yunan or Baroda than in Utah or Oklahoma, but there is just as much, and that is a good deal provided that the missionary concerned is a good deal of a man.

The modern missionary needs special training for his work more than ever before. If St. Peter was an unlettered fisherman, St. Paul was a distinguished scholar and statesman, and it was St. Paul who gave Christianity to the world at large. St. Peter could not have done it. He had neither the head nor the training for it. The mere prophet, moralist, and exhorter have each their place in the mission field; but prophets and preachers who possess balance as well as fervor, conviction without bigotry, are somewhat rare. No man below intellectual par and without *savoir faire* should be eligible for missionary work in such countries as China, Japan, and the Philippines. I speak as one who would defend his own interests.

No doubt we have had, we have, and we are going to have incompetent and eccentric missionaries. But it is unjust to judge the value and work of missions by a handful of misfits. Had it been just to generalize on the character of the American consular service from some representatives in high places whom I met in the Orient a while ago, I should have pronounced it to be a corps of scoundrels. Were it fair to judge the civil service by a considerable number of civil servants I

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have known, I should say that it was a company of roisterers and thieves.

Let us have done with the pernicious habit of snatching at exceptions as a ground for the universal condemnation of a cause or an institution which we may not like, but of which we know little at first hand—perhaps nothing. Consular service, civil service, and missionary societies alike are bent upon eliminating incompetents and misfits. In the main, they are all proficient, with unlimited possibilities of greater proficiency.

2. Missionary life is as much a vocation for the laity as for the clergy. Missionaries should cover every known profession from a doctor to a carpenter, from a housekeeper to a seamstress. In much of the Orient the industrial mission is of greater importance to-day than any other. It at least holds equal place with literary education. The consecrated, well-equipped layman is needed not less, in some places is needed more, than the priest and catechist. The Jesuits, the most self-obliterating and the greatest missionaries of modern history, have succeeded because they are learned, skilled in science, and experienced in almost every trade. Their lay brothers are not the least important members of their order.

3. The moment has arrived for us to review the institutional ventures of missions in the light of the progress of backward nations and the growing wealth of the home Church. The continuance of an educational or philanthropic society simply because it is under religious auspices, irrespective of the quality of the work done, is at best a doubtful procedure. A school or hospital merits support because it is an instrument of good education, or medically and surgically first-class, not because something bearing the name of school or hospital is used as a pretext for pious teaching and sectarian ends. Poorly conducted and professionally weak missionary institutions, when side by side with well-conducted secular institutions of a high order, are a menace, not an aid, to the cause of missions. Missions must unfalteringly stand for the best institutions of their kind, or else yield place to the best.

We have yet to contend against the old conception of missions and missionaries—that they need little, less than people with much easier tasks, that they must not have the ordinary comforts of life, and must work miracles withal. One of the chief troubles with missionary institutions is that, with a work far more taxing and difficult than in ordinary conditions at home, they are supposed to be greatly favored if they receive pennies where home institutions of a similar character receive dollars. The harder the task, the poorer the equipment, is not a proverb found in the sayings of the Wise Man, though it is practiced in the economy of the churches. If a wealthy home church, upon whose annual contributions a missionary institution subsists, steadily refuses to support it adequately, the missionary in charge is almost in duty bound, for the sake of the cause, to urge its abandonment.

The needs of a missionary institution of to-day must be measured by the breadth of its opportunity as discerned by those directly responsible for it, and not by an ancient and decrepit theory. What may have been generous for yesterday's needs is penurious in relation to to-day's. Missionary schools and hospitals cannot live on the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table; they can only starve on them. As much discredit has accrued to the missionary cause because of inefficiency due to inadequate support as to incompetent missionaries.

4. Competent persons, men and women of the privileged class, should be taught that there is a place for them in the mission field, permanently or temporarily, if they qualify by becoming proficient in some department of useful work. Why should not young women give a year or two of their freshness and vitality after they leave college to teaching or otherwise aiding in one or another of our missions? If they are able to meet their own expenses, so much the better. This would be more profitable than the giddy dance around the world that the thousands indulge in annually, gathering for the most part a little geography, a bunch of curios, and considerable misinformation about the nations whose skirts they touch. Japan, China, the Philippines, and India are good stopping-places for round-the-world travelers. A year or so in one

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place or another would be an education to the visitor and a material benefit to missions. The idea has already occurred to and been acted upon by a few.

Again, why cannot some of our colleges and schools, like Yale and Princeton and Trinity, Groton and St. Paul's and Phillips Exeter, systematically contribute one of their professors or masters from time to time for a year to teach in Peking University, or St. John's University, Shanghai, or St. Paul's College, Tokyo? Indeed, Groton, all honor to her, has, unasked, inaugurated the movement by lending to Baguio School a master who, with true missionary spirit, has contributed the major part of his sabbatical year to this end. Such a course brings a reward to the giver. The disease from which the academic world is apt to suffer is provincialism. In these days of international life, every college and school should have preceptors who have had a direct share in the puzzles and burdens of far-away lands.

Space forbids me to say more, though I have much more to say. But I trust that my purpose has been accomplished. I have aimed to present mission work as being a normal vocation for normal men and women, with just as much and just as little romance as any other reputable pursuit, and as demanding the best possible equipment in all its enterprises. Parents should be no more surprised or chagrined that their children should plan to qualify for the mission field, whether as a vocation or as an avocation, than for finance or medicine or society. The religious public should no more be disturbed when we on the frontier ask for a hundred thousand dollars for a hospital or a school (usually we ask for much less and do not get it) than when a home charity or university lays its plans to get a million or so for equipment or endowment. The biggest missionary request that I have as yet seen, if it has erred at all, has erred on the side of excessive modesty.

As I have experienced mission work, and I have known no other work in a ministry of close upon a quarter of a century, I conceive it to be as wonderful a sphere of opportunity for the investment of all that manhood is or may be as the market of time affords. I am further convinced, from a careful and extensive observation of missions in many lands, that, considering the number of men and the amount of money invested in missions, the returns are such as cannot be paralleled by any other enterprise in history.

# THE CHALICE OF COURAGE

BY MARIE HEMSTREET

Drink of the Chalice of Courage!
  Pressed to the shrinking lip,
The dark-veiled fears
From the passing years
  Like a dusty garment slip.

Drink of the Chalice of Courage!
  Poured for the hero's feast,
Where the strength divine
Of its subtle wine
  Is shared with the last and least.

Drink of the Chalice of Courage!
  The mead of mothers and men,
And the sinewed might
Of the victor's fight,
  Be yours, again and again.

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# THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

## BY LYMAN ABBOTT

A SERIES OF ARTICLES IN WHICH THE AUTHOR CONSIDERS THE EFFECT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE FAMILY, IN EDUCATION, IN INDUSTRY, AND IN GOVERNMENT[1]

TWELFTH PAPER

## IN RELIGION

TRUE religion is the same in all ages: "The life of God in the soul of man." It is doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God; it is faith and hope and love; it is realizing the invisible world, aspiring toward a divine future, seeking the well-being of others.

But because it is life it changes from age to age. "When I was a child," says Paul, "I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." The man not only speaks a different language from the child, he apprehends life differently, he thinks different thoughts, and has different experiences. The faith of a man is not a child's faith; his hopes are different, his loves are different. The religion of the twentieth century and of the first century are the same—that is, they are both the life of God in the soul of man. Yet they are different, as the life of nature is different in October from the life of nature in May. Religion is a working life, therefore it has an organization—a church; it is an intellectual life, therefore it has ordered thought—a theology; it is an emotional life, therefore it has an experience and a worship. And this church, this theology, this experience and worship, change in the race as in the individual. The religious life is not the same in a democratic as in an autocratic society.

Christianity, passing out from Judea into Rome, passed from a partially democratic into a wholly autocratic world. It transformed the world, but was itself transformed. The Church of Rome is not a copy of the Jewish synagogue; the theology of Augustine is not a copy of the Sermon on the Mount; the worship of the mass is not patterned after the primitive prayer-meetings described in the Book of Acts. The Church of Rome was an imperial church with a supreme pontiff whose power was autocratic, whose word was final. The theology of Latin Christians was an imperial theology: God was King; law was his edict; the Bible was a book of laws; its canons of interpretation were legal canons; sin was rebellion; forgiveness was remission of penalty; atonement was transfer of penalty from the guilty to the innocent. Man is not a bundle of separated faculties. His experience determines his thinking; his thinking colors his experiences. In this imperial religion worship was a petition for pardon by rebellious but penitent subjects, addressing a justly indignant sovereign whose gracious pardon was besought by intercessors and purchased by the offering of a perpetual but bloodless sacrifice. This sketch is inadequate; but its inadequacy is excused, if not justified, by its necessary brevity.

Changes in organization are more easily effected than changes in habits of thought or in types of experience. The religious revolution which for the Protestant world overthrew autocracy in church government has more gradually introduced the democratic spirit into the thought of the Church, and still more gradually into the experience of Christians. But we are coming to a consciousness of the change which that spirit is effecting. In the Roman Catholic Church we call it Modernism; in the Protestant Church we call it sometimes the New Theology, sometimes the Spirit of Humanitarianism. It is criticised as an innovation and condemned as a heresy; but I believe that it is a new phase in the victory of Hebraism over paganism, of a democratic Christianity over a pagan autocracy. The democratic, that is the Christian, spirit is transfusing our thoughts and our experiences as well

[1] These articles are based on and in part condensed from a series of lectures on "The Spirit of Democracy" delivered by the author on consecutive Sunday afternoons before the Brooklyn (New York) Institute in January and February, 1910.



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as our political and religious organizations; and we are trying, half consciously, to readjust to the new conditions our intellectual and spiritual expressions. The democratic spirit does not deny the affirmations of the autocratic religion; it reaffirms them, but it gives to them a new significance. It conceives that God is a Sovereign; that laws emanate from him; that the Bible is a trustworthy interpretation of those laws; that sin is lawlessness, that forgiveness involves some remission of penalty; and that it is accomplished through the offering of sacrifice. But filled with the democratic, that is the Christian, spirit, the legalistic theology ceases to be legalistic and becomes spiritual, ceases to be supernatural and is becoming more frankly human because more truly divine.

There is no better definition of Political Democracy than Abraham Lincoln's "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." It is the doctrine of Political Democracy that the source of authority is in the people, and that authority is to be exercised by the people and for their benefit. It is the doctrine of Industrial Democracy that the source of wealth is in the people, and that wealth is to be used by the people and for their benefit. The doctrine of Religious Democracy may be similarly expressed: Religion is of the people, by the people, for the people. The source of the religious life is in human nature; its instruments and institutions exist for men and are to be controlled by men. Religion is the natural life of man: his privilege and prerogative, his inheritance and equipment. It is the democratic spirit in religion which is making those changes in religious thought and life that are the despair of some, a sacrilege to many, but a joy and inspiration to an increasing number.

The democratic spirit regards or is slowly coming to regard the religious life as the natural life of man, and irreligion as unnatural. It regards religion as a life developed in man, not as something external imposed upon him. It esteems that life as supernatural in no other sense than as art life or musical life or literary life or business life is supernatural—supernatural because in God we live and move and have our being. Jesus compares the Kingdom of God to a seed which groweth up secretly; for the earth, he says, *bringeth forth of herself.* The democratic spirit accepts this figure as an interpretation of the Kingdom of God in the individual soul: the soul bringeth forth of itself. God, says the Hebrew Psalm of Creation, made man in his own image and breathed into him the breath of life. The democratic spirit believes this to be true of all men—Jew and Gentile, Christian and pagan, saint and sinner. We are his offspring, says Paul, and in saying that he quotes a heathen poet. The democratic spirit believes that the publicans and sinners are the offspring of God. It believes not less in the divineness of religion, but more; as the gardener who believes that plants without the hothouse live not less by the warmth of the sun than those within.

The democratic spirit identifies the laws of nature with the laws of God. The moral law, like natural law, is not imposed from without; it is constituted within. It was not given *to* man, it was created *in* man, or, if the reader prefer, it was given to him in and by his creation. Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, were all written in the conscience of man before they were written on tables of stone. They would be just as obligatory if they had not been written on tables of stone. They are just as obligatory on those who have never heard of the tables of stone. When Jesus Christ says, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and mind and strength, what he says to us is: That is what you were made for; love is your natural aptitude; you were fitted for love as the fish for the sea and the bird for the air.

The democratic spirit finds the authority and source of religion, not in priests or prophets, past or present—that is, neither in the Book nor in the Church—but in the soul's own recognition of its divinely ordered duties and divinely bestowed privileges. The Church is an authority in so far as it gives true expression to the spiritual consciousness of spiritual souls. The Bible is an authority in so far as it is an expression of spiritual experience by men of a truly spiritual

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nature, whose experiences have power to awaken an indorsing echo in our own souls.

It is this power in the Bible to awaken a response in our own souls that makes it a revelation. Revealing is unveiling; discovery is uncovering. The two processes are identical; the two words are synonymous. That theology uses one and science the other is not material. The scientist sees bacteria in the blood; they were always there, but he uncovers them. He says, If you will look through the microscope, you can see them for yourself. And we do. The prophet sees God in nature and in his own soul. God was always there; the prophet unveils him. Then he says, If you will look for yourself, you also can see him. And we do. Professor Huxley watches the development of a plant or an animal from its embryo; wrought "in so artistic a way that, after watching the process hour by hour, one is almost involuntarily possessed by the notion that some more subtle aid to vision than an achromatic would show the hidden artist, with his plan before him, striving with skillful manipulation to perfect his work."[1] This is revelation—unveiling. Matthew Arnold watches the development of spiritual life in the history of human society and in the biography of the individual soul, and gives to the skeptic this counsel: "But if, on the other hand, they ask, 'How are we to *verify* that there rules an enduring Power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness?' —we may answer at once: 'How? Why, as you verify that fire burns—*by experience!* It *is* so; try it! you *can* try it; every case of *conduct*, of that which is more than three-fourths of your own life and of the life of all mankind, will prove it to you."[2]

God is revealed to us when he is unveiled to us, the Master Workman in nature, the guiding Personality in history, the Life of the individual soul. The experience of God in others when it awakens a similar experience in us is a revelation; if it awakens no such experience in us, it is no revelation. Thus the Twenty-third Psalm is a revelation to some readers and not a revelation to others. The democratic spirit looks upon the Bible as a volume of illuminating and inspiring human experiences; it believes that there is no experience in the Book that has not its counterpart in modern spiritual experiences. It values the Book, not as a substitute for such experiences, but as a means of awakening them in the spirit of the reader. When the minister attempts to make the Bible speak to this democratic age with the kind of authority with which it spoke to a former autocratic age, he simply closes the minds of his hearers against its message.

In the Protestant churches, which are the children of the democratic movement, the autocratic authority of the Church is vehemently denied. Even in the Catholic Church (whether Roman or Anglican), the spirit of Modernism is endeavoring to reconcile loyalty to the Church as the ultimate authority with the democratic spirit. It does not succeed, and cannot. The question between Protestantism and Catholicism is not a mere question of theological creed or ecclesiastical order. It is vital and fundamental: the question whether the source and authority of religion resides in a divinely constituted organization, from which we are to receive our instructions and our commands, as children from their father, or whether the source and authority of religion is in the people, and the voice of the Church or the churches, whether ancient or modern, is the voice of a common spiritual consciousness, in which we find authority as we find it in the concurrent testimony of many witnesses to any fact of life, whether it be physical or spiritual; the question whether God's inspiring and counseling presence is universal and brings with it a gift of eternal life which is as free to all as the air we breathe and the sunshine which vitalizes and empowers us, or whether eternal life, bestowed by an absentee God, is piped and conduited through an appointed hierarchy, from whom alone the laity can receive it. It must be added that if Modernists find it difficult to maintain a doctrine and practice of liberty in an autocratic church, Protestant doctors of divinity find it not less difficult to maintain a doctrine of ecclesiastical authority in churches increasingly pervaded by the democratic spirit.

[1] "Lay Sermons," p. 260.
[2] "Literature and Dogma," p. 267.

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Because thus the democratic spirit finds the authority of both Book and Church in the response which the awakened spiritual life of the individual makes, it takes but a languid interest in the subject of miracles. If the authority of religion is external, if it is in messengers of an olden time speaking for God, we have a right to demand some authentication of their right to speak. But if the authority is in the Voice within our own souls, whether the marvelous events recorded in the Bible took place as recorded or whether some did and some did not take place, becomes a historical, not a religious, question. To one who believes that God is always in nature and in man, it is neither incredible that there should have been at times clearer and more striking, or at least more visible and material, evidences of his presence than there are now, nor, on the other hand, that evidences such as are now passed by without being interpreted or even scarcely observed, save as curious phenomena, had in former times their inner and spiritual significance better interpreted. But it is also true that, since our faith does not depend upon those interpretations, doubts concerning them do little to disturb our faith. One who believes in the universal presence of God finds it both less difficult and less important to believe in certain unusual indications of that presence in ancient times as he finds them reported in the Bible.

How does the democratic spirit regard Jesus Christ?

The democratic spirit is no longer interested in the old debates about the Person of Christ, and is not satisfied with the old definitions. The various theological questions which are different forms of the one question, What is the metaphysical relation of Jesus Christ to the Infinite? do not interest; the old definition of Christ as "The only begotten Son of God; Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God; Begotten, not made; Being of one substance with the Father," does not satisfy. When, on special days, the Nicene Creed is repeated, its phraseology is regarded, I venture to say, by most worshipers as the language of reverence, not of exact definition. The Trinitarian churches have hundreds of members who could not tell whether they are Trinitarians or Unitarians, and thousands of members who could not tell why they are Trinitarians.

And yet it is certain that the tendency in democracy is toward an increasing, not a lessening, reverence for Jesus of Nazareth. The multiplicity of lives of Christ written by representatives of every school of thought, the regard with which, with hardly an exception, his name and character are treated by these various authors, the direct testimony to his character and influence by orthodox and liberal, Catholic and Protestant, Jew, Gentile, and Christian, indicate a remarkable and growing unity of reverence for his life and character. Among the books in my library are a recent commentary on the Gospel of John written by a Brahmin for Brahminical readers, and one on the Synoptic Gospels written by a Jew for Jewish readers; in both Jesus is treated as an eminent if not a supreme teacher of the religion of the Spirit. The closing sentences of Renan's "Life of Jesus" are a classic: "Whatever unlooked-for events the future may have in store, Jesus will never be surpassed. His worship will increasingly renew its youth; his story will call forth endless tears; his sufferings will subdue the noblest hearts; all ages will proclaim that among the sons of men no one has been born who is greater than he."

Whether democratic Christianity will attempt a new definition of Jesus Christ may be doubted. Perhaps it will be content simply to listen to him and follow him without defining him. As yet it has furnished no better definition than that suggested by Henry van Dyke in the phrase "the human life of God." In this sentence is indicated the direction in which we are to look for the reconciliation between the belief of the democratic spirit that the source and authority of religion is in the people, and the reverence of the democratic spirit for Jesus Christ as the supreme expression of the religious life.

While the faith of the future in Jesus Christ cannot now be formulated, certain things may be said respecting it, with a considerable degree of certainty.

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Jesus Christ is not the founder of religion. Religion existed before he was born, and exists to-day among many peoples who have scarcely even heard of his name. He is not the founder of a special religion. For a special religion must have its creed, its ritual, and its ecclesiastical organization; and Jesus Christ formulated no creed, prescribed no ritual, and framed no ecclesiastical organization.[1]

Jesus Christ defined his own mission in the memorable words, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." He was and is a life-giver. This life is religion: the religion of faith and hope and love; the religion of doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with God. Of this life his own is a supreme example—an example possible for us to follow. It is characteristically a human life. To do justly means to the Christian to act in human dealings in the spirit in which Jesus Christ acted; to love mercy means to the Christian to have compassion on the suffering and the sinful as Jesus Christ had compassion; to walk humbly with God means to the Christian to live in the same filial relation with the Father in which Jesus Christ habitually lived. To all who profess and call themselves Christians the Christian religion can mean nothing less than this. And this is both a divine life and a human life; a divine life because it is a human life, and a human life because it is a divine life. For there is no difference. And he who manifests the ideal human life does, by so manifesting the ideal human life, reveal, that is, unveil, the divine life—"the human life of God."

To say that the source and authority of Christianity are in Jesus Christ is to say that they are in human nature, for Jesus Christ is the representative type in history of what human nature is in the conception of Him who has made man in His own image. If any of my readers are inclined to start back at this statement, let them ask themselves what John means when he says that as he was so are we to be in this world; what Paul means when he says that God has predestined us to be conformed to the image of his Son that he might be the first-born among many brethren; what Jesus himself means when he prays that we may be one in him and the Father, as he was one in the Father, that the glory which the Father had given him he gave to us, and that as he was sent into the world he in like manner sends us into the world; or what the New Testament means by applying to Christians in a modified form almost, if not quite, all the titles it applies to Christ. He is the Well-Beloved Son of God, and we are sons of God; he is the Light of the World, and we are lights of the world; he is the Great High Priest, and we are priests unto God; he is the great Sacrifice, and we are told to offer ourselves a living sacrifice; he forgives our sins, and whose soever sins we remit are remitted unto them; he is filled with all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and we are bid to pray that we may be filled with all the fullness of God; he is in us the hope of glory; we are to be crucified with him and we are already risen with him. The democratic spirit in religion, which holds as its fundamental faith that religion is a privilege and prerogative of human nature, and that in human nature we are to look for both the source and the authority of religion, finds its supremest evidence and illustration of this faith in the life and character of Jesus the Christ.

It needs not many words to indicate that, if religion is of the people, it is also for the people and by the people. If the spirit of faith and hope and love is inherent in the human spirit, as are the appetites and passions in the human body, then it cannot be other than a universal religion. This life is not for the Jews only, but also for the Gentiles; not for the baptized only, but also for the unbaptized; not for the elect only, but also for the non-elect; not for the saints only, who give themselves up to lives of meditation and prayer, but for the average man, and is fitted to inspire and control the average life. It belongs not to Jews as Jews, nor to Christians as Christians, nor to saints as saints, but to man as man. Some spiritual souls are more fruitful than others, but there are no arid lands. Spir-

[1] Even Catholic scholars, who hold that Jesus Christ appointed his Apostles and their successors to be the authoritative heads of the Church, will hardly affirm that he did more than authorize them to frame the organization of the future ecclesiastical body; and no one affirms that Jesus Christ formulated a creed or prescribed a ritual.

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itual suicide may be possible; personally, I think it is. But spiritual life is certainly possible; no man is shut out from it. Pagan religions are not devilish imitations devised to deceive the unwary. They are real beginnings of a life which has its supremest inspiration and its supremest manifestation in Jesus the Christ. And it is for this reason that he is the Christ.[1]

Because this religion of faith and hope and love, of doing justly and loving mercy and walking humbly with God, is the universal inheritance of the human race, it knits us together in the bond of a fellowship which transcends all other fellowships. Political Democracy unites us in nations, Industrial Democracy in trades, Educational Democracy in a Republic of Letters; but Religious Democracy unites men of all nationalities, trades, and social classes in a universal brotherhood. Because one is our Father which is in heaven, because we are all his offspring and share in his life, we are all brethren.

# THE NEW BOOKS

Mr. A. E. W. Mason's tales and romances put him among the best writers of a kind of fiction which depends largely for its interest on plot, but which has also good character work and clear-cut writing. These stories belong to very much the same class as the equally excellent tales written by the late H. S. Merriman (which was a pseudonym for H. S. Scott). In his new story called "At the Villa Rose" Mr. Mason departs from this type of fiction. He seems to have said to himself, "I will show how a detective story really ought to be written." And, certainly, the early part of this story is an admirable example of a well-written detective story. We regret to say, however, that as the plot proceeds the horror and cruelty of the crimes committed or attempted are such as to produce a revulsion, and the reader lays down the story with the feeling that he would very much prefer to read over again one of Mr. Mason's earlier books, such as "The Four Feathers" or "The Broken Road." (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

"The Doctor's Lass," by Edward C. Booth, will undoubtedly and deservedly be widely read. It will be remembered that Mr. Booth is the author of "The Post-Girl." The present novel has many of the qualities of that book. It has real tenderness of feeling and sympathy, and this tenderness never degenerates into mawkishness or sentimentality. Moreover, the author has an equally sound sense of humor, and his men and girls—particularly his girls—have positive reality, while the Yorkshire dialect and local color are interesting. The present book may be criticised on the ground that the author's manner of writing is excessively fluent; while diffusion in narration is entirely welcome if it is accompanied by lightness of touch and interest in incident, there is always a danger of overdoing in this direction. This is largely a matter of taste; some readers will not consider it a defect in the present book, others will. But, at all events, the story is not for a moment to be classed with the average fiction of the day which is read and instantly forgotten. (The Century Company, New York. $1.30.)

"Ailsa Paige," by Robert W. Chambers, is in the main a story of the Civil War, and therefore something of a departure from his former much-read and much-criticised novels dealing with New York society. The pictures of battle, as well as those of the excitement and stir in New York when the war broke out, seem to us admirably done, and there is enough faithful rendering of character and type to call for praise, yet to suggest (what one almost always feels with Mr. Chambers's books) that the author might have done a great deal better if he had thought a little more of his art and a little less of immediate popularity. The plot of the book seems to us to have a vital defect, in that the long and agonized struggle of the young man who is its hero to repress his love is based on somewhat inadequate grounds. (D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

No one who is interested in Finland and who wishes to follow intelligently the course of events in that country should fail to read and keep at hand a pamphlet recently published in London entitled "The Russo-Finnish Conflict." Its object, as stated in the preface, is "to give an opportunity to students of the Russo-Finnish question to form an impartial judgment of its merits;" and in the compass of a hundred pages it sets forth with great fullness and fairness the case of Russia against Finland as well as that of Finland against Russia. Much more space is given to the former than to the latter, although the sympathies of the editor are with the Finns, and the pamphlet is evidently of Finnish origin. Among the interesting and important documents and state papers that it contains are Premier Stolypin's speech on Finland in the Russian

[1] Philippians ii. 5–11.

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Duma; the text of the Imperial Legislation Bill prepared by the Russian members of the Russo-Finnish Commission and their arguments in support of it; the reply and criticisms of the Finnish members; and all the laws and manifestoes that have any bearing on the history or present state of the conflict. It is an admirable compendium of information with regard to Russo-Finnish relations, and it shows such a spirit of courtesy and fairness in its attitude toward Russia and the Russians that one is inspired with confidence in all its statements. ("The Russo-Finnish Conflict; the Russian Case, as Stated by the Representatives of the Russian Government, with Introduction, Appendices, and Notes in Criticism and Reply." Harrison & Sons, London.)

One of the results of the attention recently attracted to Finland and of the sympathetic interest excited by the Russian invasion of that country's constitutional rights is the republication of Mr. Harry De Windt's "Finland As It Is," which originally appeared in London in 1901. It is a pleasantly written narrative of personal experience by a summer tourist, and will have interest and value for any one who is contemplating a vacation trip to Finland and who is in need of information with regard to people, scenery, climate, hotels, personal equipment, practicable routes, and traveling expenses. Mr. De Windt draws an extremely attractive picture of the "Land of a Thousand Lakes," and dwells with enthusiastic appreciation upon the picturesqueness of the scenery, the admirable traits of the people, the excellence of the hotels, and the evidences of enterprise, thrift, culture, and high civilization which present themselves in every part of the Grand Duchy, from Viborg to Tornea, and which seem to have taken him completely by surprise. For the serious student of Finland the book is not important, partly because it does not aim to do more than give the superficial impressions of a tourist, and partly because a large part of the information that it contains is twelve or fourteen years old. If Mr. De Windt had revised the present edition, he would not have given educational statistics for 1890, nor described the organization of an army that no longer exists. Neither would he have said that women have no political rights in Finland, since eighteen or twenty of them now have seats in the Finnish Diet. The book contains a good many evidences of hasty preparation in the shape of errors and careless statements, which doubtless would have been noticed and corrected in a revision. It is not true that "Finnish completely differs from all other European languages" (p. 14); nor that the Polish language "has become practically obsolete" in Poland (p. 83); nor that "Finn" means "wizard" (p. 35); nor that Finland "now has nearly forty thousand steamships" (p. 141). Neither is it a fact that the Czar threatened, in his manifesto of February 15, 1899, to abolish the Finnish Diet. The purport of that manifesto, as given on page 89, is a hasty misstatement. "Finland As It Is" contains a map, a good index, and twenty or more excellent reproductions of photographs. The woodcuts in the text, however, have a cheap appearance, and should be eliminated. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

A series of brief monographs is effectively treating subjects of prime importance to teachers. President Hyde, of Bowdoin, writes upon "The Teacher's Philosophy In and Out of School." Exhibiting in Part I the five types of personal interest corresponding to the five stages of education from the kindergarten to the university, and in Part II the five historic types of personality to be harmoniously incorporated into individual life, Dr. Hyde says: "Good teaching on its personal side is simply democracy, Christianity, good will, incarnate in the teacher, and diffused like an atmosphere throughout the school. How to put that into the school is told in the first part; how the teacher is to get it into himself or herself is told in the second part." An admirable sequel to this is a paper by Professor Palmer, of Harvard, on "The Ideal Teacher." It is addressed "only to those who are drawn to teaching by the love of it, who regard it as the most vital of the Fine Arts." It is more than professionally instructive and stimulating; it is ethically humanizing and enriching. The burning "Problem of Vocational Education" is luminously discussed by Dr. Snedden, Commissioner of Education for Massachusetts. He points out the necessity of it, its inevitable need of new forms of pedagogy and administration, and the consequent defectiveness of the vocational education, so called, that has thus far been attempted. The community still needs awakening to a sense of its value that will result in better methods of taxation to meet the outlay it requires. A broad social point of view of the subject is taken, and the suggestions given by experience are conservatively presented with clarifying effect upon points of controversy. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 35 cents each.)

To those who do not object to florid rhetoric "The Russian Road to China," by Lindon Bates, Jr., may be recommended, though the book adds little to what has already been described by others. Mr. Bates's Russian road to China consists of the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Urga Post Road—the latter doubtless ere long to become the Urga Railway, and thus forming a more direct means of communication than now exists between Moscow and Peking. The author's comments on Russian railway and other enterprises are worth reading, but to many a more interesting part of the book will be the portion wherein he treats of China. He reveals China's supineness in military matters. He also reveals the possibility of increased taxation, if necessary,

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throughout the Chinese Empire. We learn that the per capita revenue received by the Government from its four hundred million subjects is but twenty-five cents. In comparison, the Japanese per capita revenue is quoted as five dollars, the American eight dollars, and the Russian twelve dollars. India, however, forms a closer parallel to China in matters of taxation than do the above-mentioned countries—India, where the per capita revenue is one dollar and twenty-five cents. No more than an extra twenty-five cents is needed, the author claims, to raise the Chinese Government above all financial difficulties and still leave the rate far below that of the other great nations. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Mass. $3.)

The name Charles E. Hughes is one to conjure with. And when one finds this name on the back of a volume entitled "A Book of the Black Forest," the thought may come that Governor, and now Justice, Hughes may have been spending a vacation in that part of Germany and have written about it. But the Charles E. Hughes who has written about the Black Forest is not Governor Hughes. We doubt very much whether the Governor could have written a better book on this subject. Indeed, those who have summered or sojourned in the Black Forest may wonder whether any one could write a much better book. The author has the grace to remember that most readers like to have the direct, personal, intimate, first-hand touch in the description, rather than a description recalling that of the encyclopædia and Baedeker. Mr. Hughes's description is his own. It is individual. The reader not only learns to know the Black Forest, but learns to know Mr. Hughes in the Black Forest. One may go with him to Triberg, Freudenstadt, Allerheiligen, Badenweiler, Höchenschwand, or any other of the towns and points which lovers of the Forest like to visit and revisit. In the description of each there are directness and an absence of pose. Mr. Hughes's book is consequently a restful companion. We have only one fault to find with it. While for the stay-at-homer its size is not too bulky, for the intending voyager it is. The publishers might well reprint the volume without illustrations in small type and on thin paper, binding in flexible covers for the sake of the tourist who would like to have just such a book in his pocket, as he trudges or cycles or motors or drives through one of the most charming and healthful regions of Europe. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

Dr. Charles F. Holder's book "The Channel Islands of California" is both vivid and informative, and should appeal alike to the traveler and the sportsman. To the traveler because the islands form an all-year-round playground. Though semi-tropical, the summers there are without extreme heat or humidity; the winters are mild yet bracing. To the sportsman the text must appeal because every angler would, we fancy, like to imitate Dr. Holder and, with the lightest tackle, troll for tuna, yellowtail, or sea-bass. The region of the Channel Islands is the meeting-place of many game-fishes hardly caught anywhere else. Here, says the author, one may find the leaping tuna, the long-finned tuna, the white sea-bass, the leaping swordfish, the yellowtail, and many more. Several of these California Channel Islands belong to the United States Government. Though recently outdistanced by Santa Catalina, San Clemente, one of the largest of the islands, enjoys the reputation of offering as remarkable sea angling as may be found anywhere. San Clemente is now, we are glad to say, practically a National fish and game preserve, realizing the latter-day conservation of our natural resources as defined by Gifford Pinchot and others. In this connection the illustrations in the present volume are noteworthy. They are of persons as well as of places, and among the persons we find Mr. Pinchot, together with such California worthies as Senator Flint, Governor Pardee, and Mr. Stewart Edward White. The interest of each of these men and of many others in the islands is the double interest of an American citizen and an American sportsman. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, Illinois. $2.)

The four articles on "The Ethical Teachings of Jesus," by Lyman Abbott, published in The Outlook last spring, being in substance a lecture delivered at the University of Pennsylvania, under the George Dana Foundation, have been published by the University of Pennsylvania; and "Seeking After God," being composed of a series of addresses and papers which have been published in The Outlook under different titles, is published by T. Y. Crowell & Co. The first volume groups the ethical teachings of Jesus in four categories, following the summary furnished in the Epistle to Titus, in the statement that Jesus has taught us how to live soberly, righteously, godly, and looking forward to a Kingdom of God. The object of the second volume is to give practical counsel to those who, without the conscious companionship of God, are seeking for it, or who, possessing that consciousness in some measure, desire to deepen and strengthen it. The one volume deals chiefly with the moral, the other with the spiritual, aspects of human experiences.

A recent editorial in The Outlook entitled "The Habit of Immortality" has been printed in booklet form by Mr. C. A. Stone, Suite 1024 First National Bank Building, Chicago, Illinois. Originally intended for private distribution only, he will furnish it to any readers who may desire it for fifteen cents for cost of printing and postage.

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# LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

### THE REASONS WHY THE NATION SHOULD GIVE AWAY ITS PROPERTY

[In The Outlook for August 13 we said editorially: "If any reader of The Outlook can state any good reason why the people, who now own many millions of dollars' worth of real estate, should give it away to private capitalists, we shall be glad to have him give it to our readers through our columns, provided that he can do so in, say, five hundred words." We have received the following letters in reply to this suggestion.—THE EDITORS.]

I

In accepting your offer to state "any good reason why the people, who now own many millions of dollars' worth of real estate, should give it away to private capitalists," I herewith submit five axioms, with deductions:

1. In estimating the comparative value of brains and capital, the former must be reckoned of first importance.

2. The dividends on brain products cannot be limited to any percentage, except under a state of Socialism or slavery.

3. A wealthy man can apply only a very small part of his holdings to his private use.

4. The maxim that a man cannot live unto himself applies to the commercial as well as the social world.

5. All big enterprises need a supreme directing force, and there must be a sufficient incentive.

That brains constitute man's biggest capital needs no argument. This is what differentiates between the uncivilized and civilized man. The Indian was the original Conservationist, and, if let alone, he would probably have conserved an entire continent until the crack of doom.

In the elucidation of the second proposition it is necessary only to call attention to the fact that inventors, composers, and artists are admitted to have a right to the product of their brains. As compared with capital the relative worth of brains is about 100 to 0 in these vocations.

The third axiom is self-explanatory.

It is probably plain to most people that the fourth proposition is correct. A man cannot make an investment without aiding some one else. If the inventor or the poet is allowed an incalculable dividend on his investment, which is practically nothing, why shouldn't the capitalist be allowed an unlimited percentage of profit? The application of the rule should be more certain in the commercial pursuits, for more people are directly benefited. The railway opens up thousands of avenues for industrial pursuits, while an invention, for example, except in extreme cases, gives employment to comparatively few people. If, as it is proposed by some, a rental of ten cents a ton be placed on coal mined from public lands, for every 90,000,000 tons mined each individual's pro rata would be ten cents. The average man should be willing to forfeit this munificent sum if thereby the wheels of the smallest factory are made to revolve. If the amount named is charged per ton, the capitalist will add that amount to the cost to the consumer and will lose nothing.

The fifth proposition seems equally true. There must be a supreme intelligence to plan and to execute. If the financial genius is willing, at the sacrifice of happiness and health perhaps, to devote his time to doing big things and giving employment to thousands, he should be permitted to do so, even though he be acting from a selfish motive.

Cincinnati, Ohio. J. H. LOCKWOOD.

II

The Outlook invites any of its readers to state in five hundred words any good reason why the people, who now own many millions of dollars' worth of real estate, should give it away to private capitalists.

Having for many years been a reader of, and until recently fully in accord with, The Outlook on most public questions, the writer can qualify, and believes he can state some reasons why the people *should* give away some of their real estate to private capitalists, assuming that you do not differentiate between a private capitalist a near-capitalist, and the man with brawn, brain, and courage, a capitalist in embryo; for you will admit that there can be no legislative distinction as to these three classes.

It has been the enlightened policy of the Government from its earliest beginning to give away or sell its real estate at a nominal price, the concrete result being a Nation of ninety millions of people, a recognized world power, a republic which is the last, best hope of the race. Free land and the prizes offered by a generous Government on the public domain accomplished this result.

To reverse this policy, demonstrated as beneficent and approved by a hundred years of success, would be to disregard the lessons of experience, and is unjustifiable from any sane view-point.

The language in which your challenge for a reason for giving away the people's real estate is couched betrays, it seems to the writer, a misconception of the purpose for which the Government was formed, and assumes that it was organized as a business corporation for the purpose of making money; that its real estate should be sold at its utmost value, and the proceeds turned into the Federal Treasury. It assumes that Uncle Sam is a landlord—an absentee landlord—with all that landlordism implies.

The writer prefers to believe that the Government is a trustee, holding the public domain, its agricultural lands, its mines, its oil, its water powers, in trust for the future inhabitants of the several States and Territories. This view is sustained, it may be remarked, by Supreme Court decisions.



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These lands and these resources belong, *not* to all the people, but to those people who have had the energy, the enterprise, and the daring to go out on the frontier, brave the dangers and endure the hardships necessary to occupy and develop them.

The public domain was given away or sold at a nominal price in the Middle West, in the Southwest, and elsewhere. Why should these policies be now reversed as to Alaska, or the Intermountain and Pacific States? What rule of equity justifies the change? The very attempt to enforce these ill-advised changes is reflected in arrested development in these States and diminishing population in Alaska.

In your article entitled "Wanted—A Policy" you first declare for a retention of the fee of all lands except agricultural lands. Why except agricultural lands? Are they not also the property of the people?

You declare in favor of a leasing system. It is pertinent to inquire who, in the ultimate working out of this system, will pay the rent or the royalty? The answer is, the consumer. Why should the Western people be subjected to a tax on water powers and coal that is not paid by the people of the older sections? How do you justify this? Harnessing water powers is true Conservation, and a subsidy would be more rational than a tax.

The people of the Intermountain and Pacific States are not less loyal, not less devoted to the cause of good government, than citizens of the older States, but they demand fair treatment and "a square deal." They ask for nothing more, and will not willingly accept anything less.

MILES C. MOORE.

Walla Walla, Washington.

III

Your proposition in The Outlook of August 13, that the mineral wealth on the public domain shall be developed on the basis of "reasonable compensation to capital," ignores two important factors: First, the prospector, without whose efforts there are no mines to develop. This race would become extinct under your plan, for no prospector ever tramped the mountain fastnesses looking merely for interest on his investment. Like the inventor, he dreams of opulence, and it is his dream that spurs him on.

Second, you take no account of the "prospects" which do not prove to be "mines." In numbers these exceed by many fold the paying properties. Who will take the hazard of development if the reward in case of success is to be "reasonable compensation" only, and the whole burden of the loss in case of failure? Men will build water and gas plants for a compensation fixed by law, for there they can see the field and fairly judge of the prospects of success. But mines are buried deep in the earth.

Under existing laws, if the mine is profitable, the owner invests his surplus in buildings, banks, and other enterprises. Is it quite fair to the West to say that all this created capital shall be taken away from it and placed in the Federal Treasury after similar properties in the East and the Middle West have been devoted to the development and enrichment of those sections?

Coal-mining is somewhat different. There inexpensive drillings will show the extent and quality of the deposit before the main investment is made and the risk taken. Near the end of the Fifty-ninth Congress the House Committee on Public Lands reported a bill to amend the coal land laws, which amendment provided that if one wanted to produce coal on public land a certain acreage should be set aside for his operations, and so long as he worked the mines and sold the product under fair and open competition the acreage assigned to him was his to work. The royalty was fixed at *not more than* three cents the ton, the idea being to put the operator on the bear side of the market, under the belief that it is more important to help business and commerce by giving it cheap fuel than it is to fill the Federal Treasury.

It seems to me that in the consideration of this whole vague thing called "Conservation" a fundamental mistake is made. The natural resources or latent wealth of the land do not belong to the Federal Government, but to the industries of the people. The Government of the United States is not a business institution, interested in profits and dividends; it is a government of and for a people.

S. C. SMITH.

Bakersfield, California.

IV

Under the heading "Wanted—A Policy," in The Outlook for August 13, you ask for any good reason why the people should give away the many millions of real estate still remaining in public trust.

1. If we do not give it away it will be stolen, and it is better to make a donation than create a new batch of criminals to swell the ranks of the great army of grafters with which the country is so grievously afflicted.

2. If we should refuse to make a free-will offering of the balance of our public domain, and should pass stringent retaining laws, the Supreme Court would declare such an act unconstitutional, thereby making the will of the people null and void, as they have constituted themselves a higher court than Congress.

3. Even if the Supreme Court should uphold the will of the public in their determination to hold fast their public lands, and the emoluments and profits therefrom become accumulated in the National Treasury, the banking interests would organize a financial panic, and by scaring the Secretary of the Treasury into the issuance of bonds would succeed in cleaning out the National vaults for their own private use, as they have done often before. By this means they would acquire both principal and interest, which, by relieving themselves of the care and

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exploitation of the public lands, would suit them far better than owning them outright.

We have been so much in the habit of giving the public domain to private beneficiaries that to let up now, when we have so little left, would, in consonance with past practices, seem a little sentimental and absurd; besides, as we are going down hill rather rapidly, it is better to get to the bottom and strike hard pan, for then, it being impossible to go lower, we shall make a stand, get up a little fusillade, such as history records, and demand a new deal.

We shall have a rude awakening some day from this, what Herbert Spencer calls "the great superstition of law." I wish we could awake to a dawn of progressive light, but, as our country is not ruled by the highest intelligence, I can only hope and tremble for the future.

Neither of the two old political parties could possibly enact laws that would be good for the great common people, for they are concerned altogether with dead issues; politically and economically they live in the past, while the country at large exists in the present and is absorbed absolutely with modern vital problems. The Nation as a unit has advanced, is advancing, and to maintain the type of a living, breathing nation must constantly advance—retrogression means extinction. The Republican faction came into power upon the crest of a living, energizing issue; that issue is no longer a propelling force; other propositions more vital, more world-wide, are clamoring for solution, and the people are looking for a party, for leaders, with broader principles, with a deeper, higher, broader culture. That party will be found, those consummate leaders will come to the front. Let us prepare ourselves for their advent; let us work with nature, seek the truth, the universal truth of spiritual law, looming up in every land, and, as Christian men and women, work with the law and not against it. Let us recognize the rising fact of universal brotherhood.

JOSEPH SPEKE.

[Without replying directly to these letters giving reasons why the people of the United States should give away their property to private capitalists, we restate here our own position with equal brevity:

1. Giving agricultural lands away in small farm lots to those who will dwell upon them and actually cultivate them builds up a large, prosperous community and secures distribution of wealth among its members. Giving away mining and forest lands to large capitalists builds up absentee landlordism and a great population dependent upon the will of the absentee landlord and a community dependent upon that will for its lumber and its fuel.

2. New York City loaned its credit for the building of a Subway, and rented the Subway to private capitalists for fifty years at a rental which at the end of that time will have paid the cost of the Subway and interest thereon, so that the city will then own the Subway without having spent a cent of money. Meanwhile it can regulate the operation of the Subway in the interest of the people, and it is doing so. We see no reason why the people of the United States should not pursue an analogous policy respecting the coal lands in Alaska and elsewhere, and mineral lands, forest lands, and water power sites everywhere.

3. The experience not only of the city of New York but, as shown by one of our contributors recently, of Switzerland, Germany, and Denmark, demonstrates that both the brains and the private capital, whose value to the community one of our correspondents eulogizes, can be secured for the benefit of the community without transferring to the private capitalists all the value of the property which, of right, belongs to the people.

4. The policy of the Eastern States has allowed their coal-fields to fall into the hands of private capitalists, and so has made the people absolutely dependent on a small body of owners for the fuel which is necessary for life, and it has brought us more than once into serious peril of a coal famine. We hope that our Intermountain and Pacific States may take a lesson from our experience and not suffer like calamity from a repetition of our past blunder.—THE EDITORS.]

### A WOMAN OF INFLUENCE

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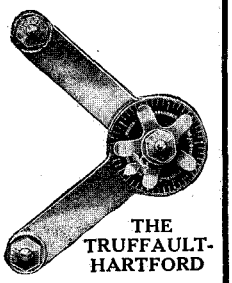

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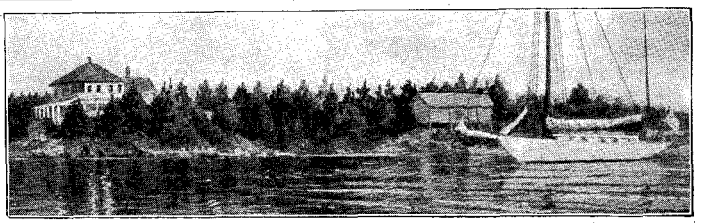

Main house, eleven rooms and bath; also guest house with two bedrooms, bath and eeping-out porch. Both houses are fully furnished. Two sail-boats, a launch, and a canoe also included if desired. For photo-raphs and terms write **WALTER B. HOWE, Princeton, N. J.** **New York Office, 56 Cedar Street.**

## Hotels and Resorts

### NEW YORK CITY

**)TEL JUDSON** 53 Washington Square, ining Judson Memorial Church. Rooms and without bath. Rates $2.50 per day, uding meals. Special rates for two weeks nore. Location very central. Convenient ll elevated and street car lines. Mrs. JAMES KNOTT, Proprietor.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE

**llside Inn,** White Mountains, N. H. atly enlarged. September rates reduced. lroad fare about one-half. Ill. booklet. C. CLAWSON, Prop., Bethlehem, N. H.

**ıkeside House** On Lake Sunapee ooklet. GEO. S. PRESCOTT, New London, N. H.

### NEW JERSEY

**ıe salt breath of the sea brings health"**

**ALEN HALL**

HOTEL AND SANATORIUM

**'LANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY**

n ideal place for a long or short stay. ne, brick and steel building. Rooms en e with hot and cold sea water in private hs. Over 70 forms of Tonic and Curative hs and Treatments with trained attendants. Water used in all Hydriatic Treatments. N. Y. Office, 1122 Broadway. F. L. YOUNG, Gen'l Manager.

# AUTUMN

IN THE

# INES OF NEW JERSEY

# Pine Tree Inn

ALBERT A. LeROY, Prop.

LAKEHURST

**)PENS OCTOBER 1st, 1910**

### PENNSYLVANIA

When visiting

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**Stop at "THE PARKSIDE,"**

ı St. and Girard Ave., opp. Fairmount k. First-class accommodations, including h, $1 a day and up. Best to advance reser-ion. Write for circular.

**)cono Manor** Monroe Co., Penna. Under management of ends. 1,800 ft. above sea level, finest nery in Pocono Mountains. For table, ;er, social advantages, the appointments unsurpassed. Send for booklet. M. E. STAR, Mgr., Pocono Manor P. O., Pa.

## Hotels and Resorts

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**Easton Sanitarium** For treatment of the nervous or mentally ill. Superior location; skilled care. Visit here before selecting a place elsewhere, or call up Dr. Kinney for particulars. Phone 1661, Easton, Pa.

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**ASHEVILLE, N. C.**

**Biggs Sanitarium** Ideal climate, complete equipment, personal attention, homelike conditions. Select chronic cases. Pamphlets.

**FALL in TRYON, N. C.**

Most delightful place to spend the Fall. Wonderful colorings. Finer than New England. **Oak Hall—Tourist Hotel.** E. BROWNLEE, Prop.

## Apartments

**Ideal Bachelor's Quarters**

Unfurnished, one large, well-lighted studio room with connecting bath-room. 11th floor. Rent $840 a year. Also apartment 3 sunny rooms, bath, kitchenette, rent $1,200. Apply Dr. PALMER, 140 West 57th St.

**The Toronto—Dupont Circle**

**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

5 delightfully located **furnished** apartments for rent from October to June. Address Apartment 71.

## Real Estate

### FLORIDA

**For Rent. Daytona, Fla.** Handsomely furnished cottage, 7 rooms and bath; electric lights, stove heat, city water. Rent $500 for the season. W. B. Chittenden.

For **rent,** on famous Merritts Island, Indian River, a 6-room furnished cottage (fireplace). Pleasantly located in orange grove, overlooking river. Rent moderate. Address O. R. Grosse, 74 Hamilton St., Providence, R. I.

**To Rent,** at Merritt, Florida, beautifully situated on the Indian River, a fully furnished, six-room cottage. All fruit included. Hunting and fishing. F. W. SHELTON, 214 Prospect Ave., Shelton, Conn.

**Hotel for Rent. St. Augustine, Florida.** Unfurnished, 13 bedrooms; modern conveniences; well located. $500 per year, 3 or 5 year lease. W. W. DEWHURST.

**For Sale or Rent** My winter bungalow, "The Wigwam" (ten rooms), completely furnished, near Rockledge, on Merritt Island, facing Indian River. Finest fishing; hunting; climate. Rent only $350.00 (including fruits) November till May; October free if secured now. Photos. BLAIR, Box 36, White Springs, Florida.

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**WINTER COTTAGES** in the **PINES**

**Lakehurst, N. J.** For sale or to rent, fully furnished, water, sewers, electric lights. Apply to F. C. TORREY, Lakehurst, N. J.

**Franklin F. Mayo & Co. solicit your Real Estate business in Newark, N. J.**

## Real Estate

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**N. H. HOMESTEAD**

**FOR SALE AT A BARGAIN**

Fine old house on highest point of land on Turnpike Road between Portsmouth and Concord in Southern New Hampshire. House fully furnished and in running order, all ready to move into. Just the place for summer and fall months. One of the few remaining. Splendid condition, fine old fireplaces, one nearly 6 feet wide with old crane, old knocker on door, spindle staircase, fine paneling, 6 bedrooms, more easily made if desired; modern bathroom, running water; barns, growing gardens, pasture, fruit, etc. Plenty of wood, hay, etc. Good roads and beautiful scenery. High elevation, cool nights. Within 2 minutes of P. O. (two mails daily), doctor, church, schools, store, etc. Over 50 acres surrounding. Many attractive drives over good roads. Beautiful lakes in every direction from 2 to 6 miles distant. 9 miles to Epsom Station (2 stages daily); 15 miles from Epping or Rochester, daily stage; 18 from Dover; 20 from Concord. For terms, etc., address Owner, Box 97, Northwood Ridge, N. H.

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**Adirondacks** We have beautiful cottages and camps, furnished and unfurnished, anywhere in the Adirondacks, for sale or rent; all improvements. Write for booklet. Address WILLIAM F. ROBERTS, Real Estate Office, Saranac Lake, N. Y.

**ADIRONDACK CAMPS** ST. REGIS LAKES on THE SARANAC LAKE PLACID

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**Nice Cottage for Sale**

C. PEMBERTON, Jr., Concord, Mass.

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Village and country property of all descriptions for sale on the Harlem Div. of the New York Central Railroad, in Dutchess and Columbia Counties, New York State. MILES L. JENKS, Millerton, N. Y.

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**BUY an irrigated sugar cane farm in the fertile Lower Rio Grande Valley.** Excels the world in the production of sugar cane. Fine climate, rich soil, pure water, cheap labor, quick returns. Crops certain, profits big. Ten acres or more, easy terms. Low in price now, rapidly increasing in value. Desirable place to live; fine schools and churches. We will plant land at once, also cultivate, harvest, and market crop on share basis. Make your crops pay for your land. For *free* booklet and long list of satisfied customers, address SAN BENITO SUGAR CO. 806 Monadnock Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

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SELECT boarding. 156 W. 81st St., New York.

A gentlewoman will take two or three little girls into her attractive suburban home. References. Address Woman's Exchange, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOARD wanted in comfortable private home, in or near New York, for elderly lady, semi-invalid. Address 4,345, Outlook.

WANTED—A feeble-minded young man to board. 4,432, Outlook.

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## BOARD AND ROOMS

MRS. Houghton's Pension for Young Women Students, 353 West 58th St., New York. Season from October first to June first. Offers pleasant companionship, musical and artistic surroundings, with protection and environment of private home. References exchanged.

*HOME CARE FOR GIRLS* throughout the year, with educational advantages. Miss Cutler, Amherst, Mass.

HANDSOMELY furnished rooms, with or without private bath. Excellent board. Reasonable. 147 West 95th St., New York.

A family consisting of four adults and child of four desire to obtain three comfortable rooms and bath, with board, in New York or vicinity, with people of refinement, from early in October until May or June, if satisfactory. Private house where there are no other boarders preferred. The location, surroundings, and service must be first class in every respect. Address 4,430, Outlook.

LANCASTER, Mass. Country board for the winter at reasonable rates in heated house. References exchanged. Address P. O. Box 125.

LARGE corner room, with board, in house having limited number of guests. Highest references given and required. 111 Pierrepont St., *Brooklyn Heights.*

MADISON Avenue, 88. With board; desirable rooms, private baths. References exchanged.

FINE HUNTING and FISHING; delightful situation on coast of South Carolina, forty miles above Charleston. A. L. Morrison, McClellanville, S. C.

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GENEALOGICAL searches. Family histories compiled. Heraldry. Box 198, Philadelphia.

WRITERS and authors, send your books to us for estimate. We *print, bind,* and arrange for marketing at lowest cost. Lino Type-Casting Co., 259 William St., New York.

## BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

THE ONLY actual difference between a "rut" and a "grave" is one of dimensions, as either are fully capable of burying a would-be ADVERTISER'S interests. Ignorance and Indifference are the two undertakers kept constantly busy in a vast cemetery of "RUTS" with branches all over the world. Francis I. Maule, 411 Sansom St., Philadelphia.

AN established corporation, engaged in the business of colonizing Western farm lands, can make a permanent position at a good salary for an energetic young man who can invest from $10,000 to $25,000 in the business (present capital $100,000). The business is profitable. This is a splendid opening for the right man. References given and required. Address Opportunity, Box 303, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

SOLICITORS—Successful in raising funds for educational, civic or charitable movements of the higher class. A new and unlimited field with large possibilities. F. B. Kain, 36 Powers St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

## FOR THE HOME

PRESERVES AND PICKLES. I am prepared to fill private orders for strictly high-grade home-made preserves and pickles. Prices furnished upon application. Hester Price, Berwyn, Pa.

DOMESTIC SCIENCE handbook free. Correspondence courses. American School Home Economics, Chicago.

## WOMEN'S GOODS

HAND embroidered MONOGRAMING on *HANDKERCHIEFS* makes appropriate and inexpensive Christmas gifts. If you are interested write for particulars. The Irish Linen Company, Importers of Hand Embroideries, Davenport, Iowa.

## HELP WANTED

### Professional Situations

WANTED, an assistant resident woman physician in private school. Salary first three months *fifty dollars and board, no washing*; if satisfactory will pay seventy-five dollars per month balance of year; chance for good advancement second year. Address, with references, 4,269, Outlook.

## HELP WANTED

### Professional Situations

GRADUATE nurse, experienced stenographer and typist, as doctor's secretary: scientific medical work. Dow, 10 Manhattan Ave.

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INCREASE your earning power by learning to write advertisements. Facts sent free. Page-Davis Co., Dept. 32, Page Building, Chicago.

DODD, Mead & Co. desire a representative who will give full or part time in each city and county. Clergymen, lawyers, doctors, and other educated men are invited to communicate with us immediately. The reward is generous and the work pleasant. Address Dodd, Mead & Co., 30th St. and 4th Ave., New York.

WOMAN, cultured, tactful, to travel for important educational movement. Position pays upwards of $75 per month and expenses, in salary and commissions. Address The After School Club, 112 S. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

BRIGHT young woman as local and traveling representative; good position for right party. Apply Mr. Larkin, Century Co., Union Square, N. Y.

SECRETARY-stenographer-typist in office of scientific institution near New York. Seventy-five dollars monthly. 4,436, Outlook.

WANTED—A man 25 to 35 years of age, with good education and successful experience as salesman or canvasser or natural adaptability for such work, to qualify for position of district sales manager for responsible subscription book house. 4,452, Outlook.

### Companions and Domestic Helpers

HOUSEKEEPER, middle aged, in *sanatorium for incipient tuberculosis. Must* be capable, refined, and in good health. $45 per month. 4,391, Outlook.

WANTED—Man to use my poultry houses. Modern: for 2,000 hens. 4,431, Outlook.

YOUNG woman to help care for two little girls; or two friends or sisters who are willing to do work of small house. Four in family. Good home. References. Refined. 4,426, Outlook.

HOUSEKEEPER wanted in home of college professor; two in family. Middle-aged woman preferred, one who desires good home and permanent position. 4,414, Outlook.

WANTED—Reliable young Protestant woman as nurse to baby, 19 months old. Must be gentle with child and assist with light upstairs work. Small family. 30 miles from New York. State wages. References required. 4,459, Outlook.

WANTED—Capable nurse for two children: sewing necessary. Address 4,451, *Outlook.*

### Teachers and Governesses

TEACHERS wanted for public and private schools. Calls from every State. Register now for September. Send for Bulletin 21. Albany Teachers' Agency, Albany, N. Y.

TEACHERS—Register to-day to secure a teaching position. Vacancies still occurring. New Century Teachers' Bureau, 1420 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

PACIFIC COAST? Salaries, expenses, certification, etc., explained. 20c. stamps. California Teachers' Agency, San Francisco, Los Angeles.

FOR housekeepers, matrons, governesses, mothers' helpers, etc., address Miss Richards, Saunderstown, R. I.

WANTED—Young woman as nursery governess. Four girls, twelve to five years. Give references and state salary expected. M. S. S., Miantowomi Ave., Newport, R. I.

*THE Hopkins' Educational Agency, 507* Fifth Avenue. Wanted—Governesses, $30-$50; housekeepers, families, schools; male tutor; children's nurses; attendants. Other positions.

COMPETENT teacher for two little girls. Simplest isolated country life. Mrs. Tillinghast, Arcadia, R. I.

WANTED—A governess for 3 girls, 6, 8, 10 years of age. Having had previous experience. South winters. Address Mrs. B. *D. Ticknor, Berkshire Inn, Gt. Barrington,* Mass.

## SITUATIONS WANTED

### Business or Professional

A lady of education and experience, a physician's widow, wishes employment as pastor's assistant or parish helper. 4,299, Outlook.

## SITUATIONS WANTED

### Business or Professional

MAN and wife desire responsible posit Large experience. Apartment house, sch institution. Reference. 4,410, Outlook.

AMERICAN literary man, 35, want job; is experienced and has good referen *Not afraid of hard work.* 4,421, *Outlook.*

TRAINED nurse (colored) desires ch of invalid or delicate child in refined fan Best references. Will travel 4,442, Outl

### Business Situations

SECRETARY companion, good rea Mornings only. Young woman of educa and refinement. References given and quired. 4,441, Outlook.

### Companions and Domestic Help

YOUNG KENTUCKY GENT WOMAN, intelligent, highest educati qualifications, adaptable, good reader, des position secretary, companion. Refere exchanged. 4,274, *Outlook.*

MISS Lydia Field Emmet, Stockbri Mass., wishes to recommend her frien lady of middle age, speaking German, Fre and English, as resident or traveling c panion. Extensive knowledge of nurs Highest references.

BRADFORD graduate, twenty-four, perienced traveler, desires position as c panion or chaperon. 4,120, Outlook.

YOUNG gentlewoman desires companic position. Experienced traveler, secret nurse. References. 4,312, Outlook.

NURSE-companion wants re-engagen for October. Reads French, German, English. Cheerful disposition. Referen 4,429, Outlook.

WANTED—Position as managing ho keeper or companion. Must have refi environment. References. 4,434, Outloo

GENTLEWOMAN with highest poss references as to character and ability a teacher has been obliged, because of sli deafness, to give up teaching, and offers services as mother's helper, governess, chaperon in return for good home and m erate salary. 4,408, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED lady desires positi companion or managing housekeeper. I erences exchanged. 4,412, Outlook.

MOTHER'S helper desires positi References. 4,418, Outlook.

COMPANION-nurse desires positi invalid or elderly lady. Philadelphia vicinity. 4,422, Outlook.

WOMAN desires position; care of eld lady or semi-invalid. Flora M. Reyno East Paris, Michigan.

*GRADUATE nurse desires position* companion-secretary to invalid. Wo travel. 4,415, Outlook.

HOUSEKEEPER-companion; dai cook, home nurse, plain seamstress, reader. 4,435, Outlook.

YOUNG woman desires position. Capa of taking entire charge of children or ho keeping. New York or vicinity. 4, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED housekeeper or mat *wishes responsible position. Entire cha* help, catering, buying. British and Ameri references. 4,440, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED school matron desi position. State salary. 4,439, Outlook.

POSITION by successful managing ho keeper of an exclusive summer hotel for ei years. 4,449, Outlook.

REFINED English-speaking German l desires position as housekeeper or compan in refined home; recently widowed; com tent manager. References given and requir Anna Packard, care W. P. Kiggins, 45 Bro way, New York City.

ENGLISHWOMAN returning to ho land for winter, October, will act as comp ion guide. Cultured, traveled, physical ture, massage. Highest references. 4, Outlook.

WANTED—Position by graduate nurse companion. 4,455, Outlook.

EDUCATED lady desires to man household or assist with housework. 4, Outlook.

### Teachers and Governesses

WANTED—Two girls between the a of eight and fourteen; clergyman's fam near New York City. Experienced teach and satisfaction guaranteed. References changed. Terms, $600 for school year. 4, Outlook.

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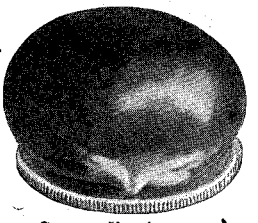
# Grow Chestnuts Like This For Profit



Covers a 50c. piece.

Whether you have one acre, or a hundred, you can get bigger profits per acre from Sober Paragon Chestnuts than from any other crop you could plant.

Hardy, rapid, symmetrical growth: luxuriant foliage; spreading boughs; clean trunk; stateliness: immunity from parasitic blight—

These qualities have been combined and developed by science to a degree that closely borders perfection, in the new

# SOBER PARAGON

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A single crop, Fall of 1909, brought $33,000 (5,500 bushels @ $6.00 a bushel). And that orchard was only ***8 years old.***

The only large ***sweet*** chestnut in the world.

Bears the second year—a 5-year old tree grew 500 burrs in 1 year. The nuts average 1 to 2 inches in diameter—and 3 to 5 nuts in a burr.

United States Pomologist, G. B. Brackett, says "The Sober Paragon comes the nearest in quality to the native chestnut of any of the cultivated varieties that I have examined. It is of large size, fine appearance and excellent flavor."

Testimony from growers, commission merchants, Forrestry Experts, etc., given in our ***free booklet,*** together with prices and particulars.

We own exclusive control of the Sober Paragon. This copyrighted metal seal is attached to every genuine tree when shipped.

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fully described with prices in our new, handsomely illustrated **General Catalogue.** No matter what you may require for Fall or Spring planting (nut, fruit, ornamental trees or decorative plants), write for this free catalogue.

**GLEN BROS. Glenwood Nursery,**
**44th year.** "Desk K," **ROCHESTER, N. Y.**


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EXPERIENCED TEACHER wishes ivate pupils in English branches, French d German; also English instruction to eigners. Best references. Address 1827 S ., N. W., Washington, D. C.

POSITION as visiting governess, or as cretary, in New York City, is desired by a man of ability, education, and experience. 09, Outlook.

WANTED—Position as teacher of physical lture by means of dancing. Wish to teach veral hours each week in different schools or near New York City. Chalif degree. 17, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED governess desires posi- n October fifteenth, family or school. nglish branches and piano. Country near ew York preferred. 4,416, Outlook.

YOUNG woman wishes position as governs. 4,437, Outlook.

WANTED—Position as teacher, chaperon, housekeeper. Higher English, four languages, and music. 4,446, Outlook.

## SITUATIONS WANTED

### Teachers and Governesses

A lady of long experience in teaching the deaf will receive a deaf pupil in her home, giving him the best of training and care. 4,444, Outlook.

COLLEGE graduate desires teaching or tutoring in Philadelphia. 4,448, Outlook.

NATIVE French teacher (lady) of acknowledged merit, wishes position teacher or companion. Experienced in traveling. 4,454, Outlook.

KINDERGARTNER, excellent training, wishes position in school or home. 4,460, Outlook.

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MISS Sara B. Hill will have classes in artistic lettering, including monogram making, and book cover designing, with allied work, beginning about Nov. 1st. Terms, $25 for twenty lessons, payable in advance. Address after Oct. 1st, 62 West 56th St. Tel. Plaza 6376.

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HANDSOME orange white pointer dog, finely bred, eligible to registration; has had woodcock and quail shot over him. His training can be finished very short time. Price $75. Write G. Dan Morgan, Jacksonville, N. C.

UNIVERSITY of MARYLAND TRAINING SCHOOL FOR NURSES. Established 1889. Individual instruction. New dormitories just completed. Reference necessary. Address Miss Alice F. Bell, University Hospital, Baltimore.

YOUNG girls studying in New York and desiring the advantages of an attractive home with chaperonage, will be received by two ladies having an apartment centrally located. References. Address Miss Dexter, Box 72, Nantucket, Mass.

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PLAYS. Katharine McDowell Rice, Worthington, Mass.

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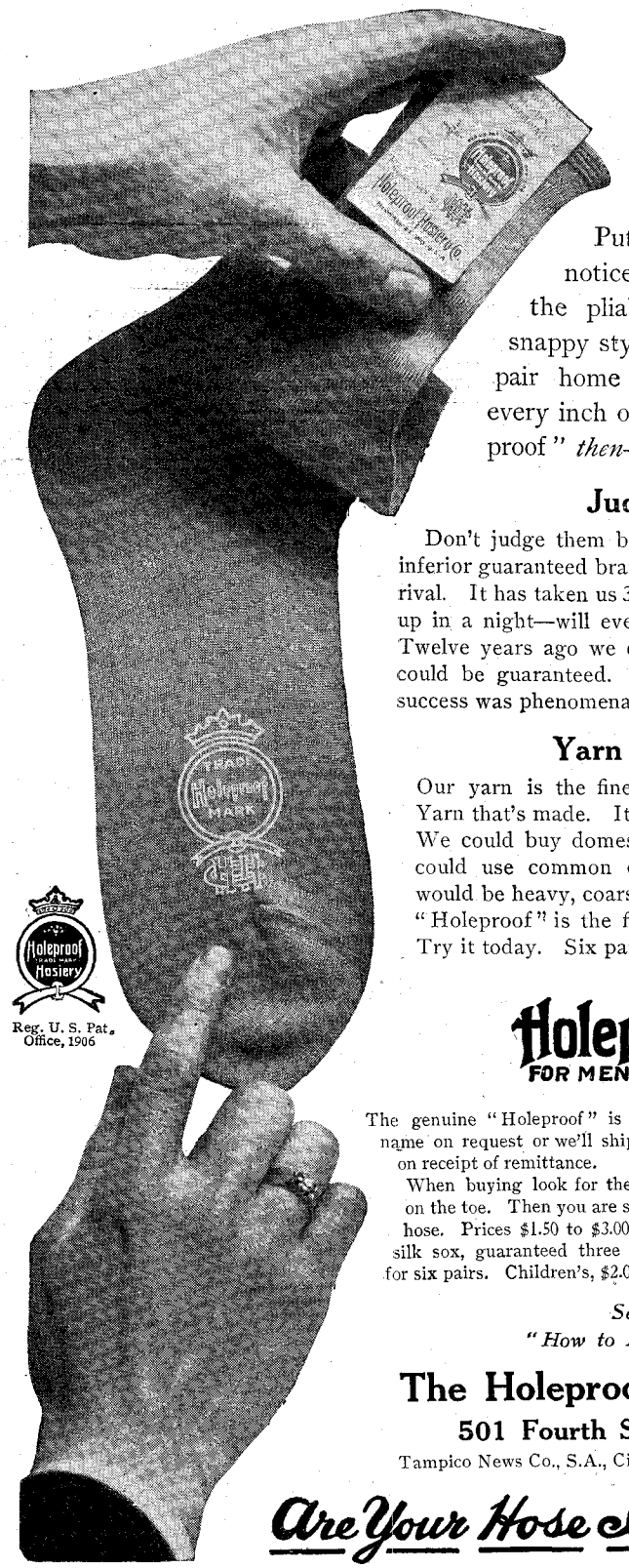


# The Softest Hosiery Made

Put a hand inside a Holeproof Sock and notice the *fineness* of it, the soft silky yarn the pliability of the texture and the neat snappy style in color and weave. Then take a pair home and notice how closely they hug every inch of the ankle and foot. Judge "Holeproof" *then*—not before you have done this.

## Judge by the Facts

Don't judge them by what you have heard of some hose or by inferior guaranteed brands. The genuine "Holeproof" has no rival. It has taken us 32 years to perfect it. No imitation—sprung up in a night—will ever be able to compete with "Holeproof." Twelve years ago we discovered that the hose we were making could be guaranteed. We at once sold them that way and the success was phenomenal from the very first.

## Yarn at 70c per Pound

Our yarn is the finest 3-ply Egyptian and Sea Island Cotton Yarn that's made. It costs on the average, 70c per pound.

We could buy domestic yarn and save 30c per pound—or we could use common cotton and pay even less. But the hose would be heavy, coarse, and ill fitting.

"Holeproof" is the finest hosiery made—*soft, light and stylish*. Try it today. Six pairs guaranteed for six months.

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**Holeproof Hosiery**
FOR MEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The genuine "Holeproof" is sold in your town. We'll tell you the dealer's name on request or we'll ship direct where we have no dealer; charges prepaid on receipt of remittance.

When buying look for the trade-mark above and for the name "Holeproof" on the toe. Then you are sure of getting the genuine—the original guaranteed hose. Prices $1.50 to $3.00 for six pairs guaranteed six months. Three pairs silk sox, guaranteed three months, $2.00. Women's stockings, $2.00 to $3.00 for six pairs. Children's, $2.00 for six pairs.

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*"How to Make Your Feet Happy"*

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